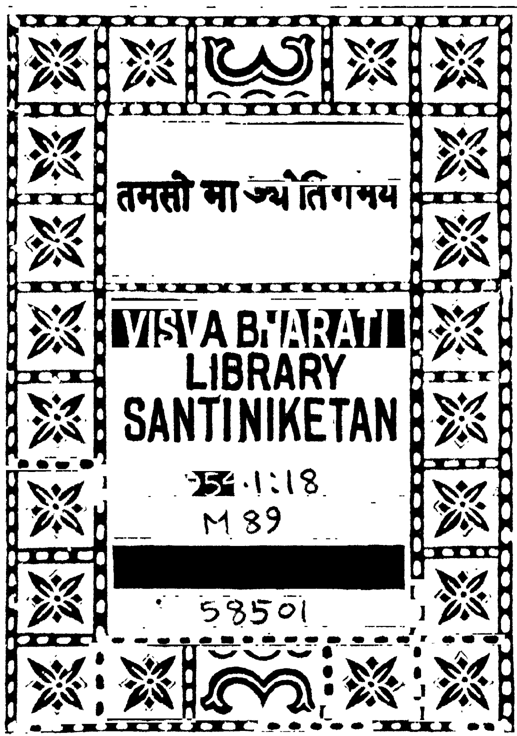


THE HERITAGE OF KARNĀṬAKA

(IN RELATION TO INDIA)

R. S. MUGALI, M.A., B.T.
Professor of Kannada
WILLINGDON COLLEGE, SANGLI

Published by
SATYASODHANA PUBLISHING HOUSE
FORT, BANGALORE CITY
1946

PRICE

Ordinary Edn. Rs. 4 — Library Edn. Rs. 5

PRINTED AT

KARNATAKA PUBLISHING HOUSE PRESS
FORT, BANGALORE CITY

Copies can be had of:

Prof. R. S. MUGALI
Willingdon College P.O.
Sangli (Dist. Satara)

★

SATYASODHANA PUSTAKA BHANDARA
Fort, Bangalore City

FOREWORD

The recovery of the history of India from the forgotten past has been a task of great immensity and importance. So much of our past history was lying unknown that people often thought and those who have not got sufficient education even now think that the past of India is unimportant. This is particularly so about a few of India's old provinces among whom Karnāṭa is one. Modern India is so ignorant about the greatness of ancient Karnāṭa, its historical importance and achievements that to many people of India herself it should be a surprise if I state that a knowledge of Karnāṭa and her history is at least as important as that of any other province of India.

Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka, the country of the Kannaḍa language, holds a great place in the Dakhan being a language spoken by more than one and a half crores of people extending over nearly 80,000 square miles. These Karnāṭakas built numerous great empires in the past and were more often than not the great masters of the Dakhan plateau for nearly one and a half millenniums. The history of the Dakhan is to a considerable extent the history of Karnāṭa.

The great empires of the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas, the Yadavas, Vijayanagara and Mysore were all Kannaḍa powers. We can add many more to this list. The history of the Dakhan is first and foremost the history of Karnāṭa.

The Kannaḍa people speak a language of their own which is named by the English writers as Kanarese. This language has a beautiful literature, examples of which are available during the last one and a half millennia. The language has been throughout this period seriously mixed with Sanskrit so that the major portion of the words used by its greatest writers are Sanskritic. It is unfortunate that today four large political areas, viz., Mysore with nine districts, Bombay with four, Madras with three, and Hyderabad with three, Coorg and a large number of the Southern Maratha States of Bombay, viz., Jath, Mudhol, Jamkhandi, Ichalkaranji and a good part of Aundh, Miraj, Sangli and Kolhapur belong to Karnāṭaka. Together they would form one great province of about twenty four districts and a population of one and a half crores, but separated as it stands and distributed over more than five provinces, very few people in India know the name of Karnāṭa.

This Kanarese country not only built great empires in the past but was the main centre of culture in the Dakhan and this culture is unique. While North-West India was greatly altered by Islam and its iconoclastic zeal and even the Hindu populations of North-India were ruled for centuries by Muslim rulers, it was the Dakhan that raised its opposition and secured its own freedom after a very short struggle. Thus Hindu culture has continued to exist in South Karnāṭaka and its neighbouring provinces largely free from outside influences while the northern half of Karnāṭaka coming under the Shahi rulers developed an Indian school of Islamic culture.

Karnāṭaka influence was very great until the decline of Vijayanagara. Since then under the Mysore State it has lived an independent existence. The unification of Karnāṭaka to which the politicians of India are giving much attention will bring into the field of political life a great power and a great province. A united Karnāṭaka as a part of self-governing India will hold a great position in the future.

The political and cultural history of Karnāṭaka has been one of the most important subjects for all South Indians and there is very great need for its proper presentation to the public. I am happy that my friend Mr. Ranganath S. Mugali, M.A.,B.T., of the Deccan Education Society has shouldered this great burden and produced an English work which is now published. Mr. Mugali is one of the best known of the modern teachers of Kannaḍa, our language, and is one of the best equipped for presenting Karnāṭaka and its culture to the English-knowing world. Through this work of his, Karnāṭaka will, I am sure, gain a popular place among the learned in the immediate future of India.

Mysore
23rd Feb. 1946

M. H. KRISHNA
Director of Archaeology, Mysore
Ex-Professor of History, Mysore University

PREFACE

The study of Indian culture is a subject of absorbing interest. Though there have been books, dealing with certain aspects of Indian culture as a whole, there is a paucity of books, dealing with the life and the culture of the people of the different linguistic regions of India. Indian culture is both the underlying spirit and the sum-total of all regional cultures. An understanding of regional cultures is, therefore, necessary to make the picture of Indian culture complete and comprehensive. It will also exemplify the truth of the principle of unity in diversity. I have called this book "The Heritage of Karnāṭaka." I may mention for the sake of those readers, to whom the subject is not familiar, that Karnāṭaka is the name of a linguistic region in South India, where the language spoken by the people is known as Kannaḍa. Karnāṭaka is at present split up into many administrative units in an awkward manner and is not, therefore, able to speak with one voice. A movement for the cultural and political unification of Karnāṭaka is going on for the last several years and it promises to bear fruit in the near future.

I have attempted in this book to give a rapid survey of the heritage of Karnāṭaka during all the periods and in all the aspects. I do not claim to be exhaustive in my treatment of the subject. Karnāṭaka is rich in historical and cultural sources, many of which remain unexploited

even today, despite a good deal of research and study. The collection of all the sources is a stupendous task. It is only when a band of devoted workers bend their energies to this task that an exhaustive cultural history of Karnāṭaka can be written. Mine is but a stimulus to such an undertaking, a very modest attempt in the line. I crave the indulgence of scholars in Karnāṭaka and elsewhere for the obvious shortcomings of this work and I invite their criticism and their suggestions for my guidance.

I take this opportunity to thank sincerely all the learned persons and all my friends who helped me in writing this book and in bringing out this publication. I must particularly mention Profs. S. Srikantha Sastri, A. N. Upadhye, R. N. Dandekar, S. R. Sharma, and G. S. Dikshit, who rendered valuable help in preparing and giving final touches to the manuscript. My esteemed friend, Prof. V. K. Gokak went through the work and took very great pains in touching up the style. I am extremely grateful to him for giving me the help, which I needed and which he alone could have given me. Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeology in Mysore, kindly agreed to write a Foreword to this book and I deem it a great privilege to have this humble work of mine blessed by a man of his learning and reputation in the world of scholarship. I express my heartfelt thanks to him for his kindness towards me.

Last but not the least is the deep debt of gratitude, which I owe to my scholar friend, Sri K. V. Raghavachar, without whose keen interest and varied assistance this work would not have seen the light of day in the present circumstances. I thank the Satya Sodhana Publishers for having

undertaken to publish it. My thanks are also due to the Manager of the Karnataka Publishing House Press, Bangalore City, for printing it in good time against very heavy odds.

The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by him from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

Willingdon College
25th Feb. 1946

R. S. MUGALI

CONTENTS

Foreword .. iii
Preface .. vii
Bibliography .. xi

FIRST SECTION—Ancient Karnataka

Chapter I Introduction .. 1
„ „ Ancient Karnāṭaka .. 3
„ II Ancient Karnāṭaka Contd. .. 10
„ III The origin of the term Kannaḍa or Karnāṭaka and the evolution of early Karnāṭaka .. 21
„ IV Aryo-Dravidian contact and the contribution of Ancient Karnataka to Indian culture and *vice versa* .. 31

SECOND SECTION—Historical Karnataka

Chapter I The History of Karnāṭaka .. 42
„ II Martial Life .. 56
„ III Martial Life—Contd. .. 71
„ IV Army Organisation .. 81
„ V Administration .. 88
„ VI i) Administration and the people, ii) Civic Life, iii) Trade Guilds .. 98
„ VII Religious History .. 109
„ VIII Religious Tolerance .. 127
„ IX The cult of Bhakti .. 134
„ X Social Life .. 150
„ XI Fine Arts .. 160
„ XII Old Literature .. 173
„ XIII „ Contd. .. 186
„ XIV „ Contd. .. 195
„ XV i) Modern Karnāṭaka, ii) Modern Kannaḍa Literature .. 211
„ XVI Conclusion .. 220
Index .. 225

Nagari transliteration of Sanskrit passages appearing on pp. 129, 130, 137, 145, & 147 .. 232

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vyāsa, The Mahābhārata, Vols. I and III, Kumbhakoṇam .Edn., 1906, 1907 & BORI Critical Text.

R. Narasimhācārya, History of Kannaḍa Language, 1934.

Nandolal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 1927.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ed. by K. V. Kale, Wai (Date not given).

Vālmīki, The Rāmāyaṇa, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1888.

D. R. Bhāṇḍārkar, The Daṇḍakāraṇya, Gangānāth Jhā Commemoration Volume, 1937.

Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, 1927.

Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928.

Vincent Smith, The Oxford History of India, 1923.

Progress of Indic Studies, BORI, 1942.

R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Early History of the Deccan, BORI, 1927.

Epigraphica Carnatica, II Vol. (Revised Edn., 1923) and all other Volumes.

B. L. Rice, Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, 1909.

Hariṣena, Bṛhatkathā Kośa, Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upādhye, Singhi Jain Series, 1943.

Rādhākumuda Mookerji, Aśoka (Gaekwad Lectures), 1928.

A. S. Āltekar, The Rāṣṭrakūtas and Their Times, 1934.

Mc Crindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, 1885.

Hālarāja, Gāthāsaptaśati, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1889.

M. H. Krishna, Prehistoric Dakhan, 1942.

Śilappadikāram, Ed. by V. R. R. Dīkṣitar, Oxford University Press, 1939.

B. A. Saletore, Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, 1936.

S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, Sources of Karnāṭaka History, 1940.

S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyyangār, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, 1923.

S. B. Joshi, Kannaḍada Nele, 1939.

D. R. Bendre, Sāhitya Samśodhana, 1940.

Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Third Revised Edition, 1913.

Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, 1927.

Kavirājamārga, Madras University Publication, 1930.

Tamil Lexicon, Madras University Publication, 1925.

S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, Proto Indic Religion, 1942.

Viṣṇupurāṇa, Published by Purāṇa Prakāśakamaṇḍali, Wai.

Vāyupurāṇa and Matsyapurāṇa, Published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte in 1905 and 1907 respectively.

Kannaḍa Nāḍina Caritre, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1941.

Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, Part I, Ed. by B. M. Khuperkar, 1938.

G. M. Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 1931.

Dineśa Candra Sarkār, The Successors of the Śatavāhanas, University of Calcutta, 1939.

M. V. Krishnarao, The Gangas of Talkāḍ.

S. B. Jośhi, Kaṇmareyāda Kannaḍa, 1933.

V. A. Smith, The Early History of India, 1914.

Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 4th Edn., 1930.

Rājaśekhara, Bālarāmāyaṇa, Ed. by Govinda Deva Śastri, 1869.

Rājaśekhara, Vidhaśalabhañjikā, Ed. by B.R. Arte, 1886.

Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, 1882.

Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, 1905.

H. J. Quaritch Wales, Towards Angkor, Harrap & Co., 1937.

Śāsanapadyamañjari, Ed. by R Narasimhācārya, 1923.

B. A. Saletore, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vols. I & II, B. G. Paul & Sons, 1934.

Krishnaśarma Beṭageri, Karnāṭaka Janajīvana, 1939.

N. Venkaṭaramaṇayya, Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar, University of Madras, 1941.

D. K. Bhāradvāja, Karnāṭaka Hand Book, 1924.

S. R. Śarmā, Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, 1940.

T. N. Farquhar: An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, Oxford University Press, 1920.

L. R. Pāngārkar, Marāṭhi Vānmayācā Itihāsa, 1932.

S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, 1942

J. N. Sarkar, A Short Life of Caitanya in "Caitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings", 1913.

Māsti Venkateśa Ayyangār, Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, 1937.

A. S. Āltekar, Education in Ancient India, 1934.

B. Venkobarao, Mysorudeśada Vāstuśilpa, 1928.

Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. II, 1915.

E. B. Havell, The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India : A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization, 1915.

James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I, 1910.

H. G. Rawlinson, India, a Short Cultural History, 1937.

Govind Pai, Mūru Upanyāsagaḷu, 1940.

A. B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928.

M. Krishnamācāriār, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, 1937.

Pampa, Ādipurāṇa, 1900 & Pampabhārata, 1931.

E. P. Rice, A History of Kanarese Literature, 1921.

S. G. Tulpule, Yādavakālīna Marāṭhi Bhāṣā, 1942.

Devuḍu, Karṇāṭaka Samskriti, 1935.

Basaveśvarana Vacanagaḷu, II Edn., 1930.

THE HERITAGE OF KARNĀTAKA

Errata

Page	Line	Incorect	Correct
78	13	They were of	They were days of
130	16	their caste are creed	their caste or creed
139	22	It is	It is the
140	19	it has	it had
168	4	conferred	confessed
188	1	classified cattāṇa	classified as cattāṇa
195	22	fury of	fury for
199	15	had tradition	had a tradition
213	25	Its	It is
217	16	in early	in the early
221	15	it	that
222	31	Standards	strands

THE HERITAGE OF KARNATAKA
(In Relation to India)

FIRST SECTION

CHAPTER I—Introduction

India has been shown up too often as a country with a baffling diversity of regions and peoples, religions and languages. But she has always been a nation of nations with an underlying unity in all her apparent diversity. This unity is essentially a matter of the spirit, a deep understanding of life. The soul of Indian culture is and has always been a steady vision of synthesis and a ceaseless striving towards unity in diversity in all the movements of life. As far back as the age of the Vedas, the synthetic outlook of Indian culture manifested itself in such intuitions as "ekam sadviprā bahudhā vadanti" and in course of time reached its peak of perfection in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, having been confirmed by mystical experience and actual living. As the author of the Bhagavadgītā puts it, the highest knowledge (Sāttvikajñāna) is that which realizes the whole (avibhaktam) in all its parts (vibhakteṣu), the one imperishable substance at the root of all diverse creation. Thus, unity in spite of diversity and harmony as well as freedom may be said to be the watchwords of Indian life at its

best. The cultural leaders of this country stood up for these ideals and realized them in their own lives, shaping the generations of their times. Notwithstanding foreign incursions, internal conflicts, religious feuds and social barriers, Indians have always striven to conform to the highest ideals that their leaders taught them both by precept and practice. Human nature being what it is, the essential synthesis of Indian culture was but realized with varying intensity in different periods of Indian history and has not been an accomplished fact as yet.

India is, today, seeking a greater synthesis than was ever possible before through the new dynamic nationalism, based on the best ideals of ancient Indian culture. The greater the diversity of circumstance and the divergence of outlook, the greater has been the urge towards unity of a lasting nature. The growing Indian nation of today is made up of several linguistic and cultural units, units that are both self-contained and interdependent. They are drawing on the common heritage of India and are yet making their own contribution to the building up of a United India on the basis of their past heritage and their present resources. The uniqueness of that contribution will depend on the extent to which, and the form in which, the ideals of Indian culture are realized by every province through its people,—their varied life, language, literature and the fine arts. It is well-nigh impossible to develop the different units of India to the highest pitch of culture without a full acquaintance of the respective heritages. A knowledge of this heritage is also essential for interprovincial understanding and national unity.

Karnāṭaka has witnessed today a new awakening in all the fields of activity and has been building up its life as a vital unit of the Indian nation. The people of Karnāṭaka have grown conscious of their past heritage and are showing an eagerness to know it in all its aspects. There has been, in recent years, a growing curiosity on the part of the people in the rest of India as well to get a glimpse of the heritage of Karnāṭaka and to know its contribution to Indian culture.

An attempt has, therefore, been made in the following pages to describe the heritage of Karnāṭaka in relation to India, with a view to discovering its uniqueness as a vital part of India, its indebtedness as well as contribution to Indian culture as a whole. The subject will be broadly treated in two sections viz. (1) Ancient Karnāṭaka and (2) Historical Karnāṭaka. A chapter on modern Karnāṭaka will be added thereafter with a view to giving a brief account of the outstanding features of the life and literature in the present times.

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

Karnāṭaka occupies a very definite place in the history of ancient India, both political and cultural. The earliest references to it as Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka are met with in the great epic, Mahābhārata more than once, where Karṇāṭa stands for the kings of the Karṇāṭa country in the Sabhāparva context and Karṇāṭaka is mentioned as one of the southern peoples or regions of India along with Draviḍa, Kerala and

others in the Bhīṣmaparva.[1] Vanavāsika, Mahiṣaka and Kuntala, also included in this southern zone, appear to be

---

[1] कर्णाटाः कांस्यकुट्टाश्च पद्मजालाः सतीनराः ।
(Sabhāparva, 78-98)

अथापरे जनपदाः दाक्षिणा भरतर्षभ ।
द्रविडाः केरलाः प्राच्या मूषिका वनवासिकाः ॥
कर्णाटका महिषका विकल्पा मूषकास्तथा ।
झिल्लिकाः कुन्तलाश्चैव सौहृदा नभकाननाः ॥
(Bhīṣmaparva, 9/58-59)

In the critical text of the Sabhāparva of the MBh. of BORI, the reference to Karṇāṭāh in 78-98 (Kumbhakoṇam Edition) is considered to be a southern interpolation and is not, therefore, accepted; and in the critical text of the Bhīṣmaparva, the reading उन्नत्यका: is accepted in place of कर्णाटका: in 9-59. Three readings of Kuntala in different parvas are accepted in the critical text:—

(i) आकर्षः कुन्तलश्चैव । (Sabhāparva, 31-11)
(ii) द्राविडाः सहकुन्तलैः । (Udyōgaparva, 138-25)
(iii) कुन्तलैश्च दशार्णैश्च । (Bhīṣmaparva, 51-12)

It is not, however, clear what portion of the south the term Karṇāṭaka exactly stood for in the context. Either it was a generic term, comprising several units like Vanavāsi and Mahiṣamaṇḍala or it indicated a certain part of the Kannaḍa-speaking area, which at that time went by the name of Karṇāṭaka. In later history, there is sufficient evidence for such alternative meaning given to the term Karṇāṭaka as well as to Kuntala. In all probability, Karṇāṭa(kā)

respectively Banavāsi, Mysore and North Karnāṭaka which might have formed part of the vast Kannaḍa-speaking region.[1] The Mahābhārata is the first work in ancient Indian literature to make a direct mention of Karnāṭaka and to reveal a somewhat detailed knowledge of its parts. In the other epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, Karṇāṭaka does not figure at all, as denoting a region or a people. In the description of the south, given by the well-informed (Viśeṣavit) Sugrīva to serve as a guide to a party of Vānaras, sent in search of Sīta, the rivers Godāvarī, Kṛṣnaveṇī called Mahānadī,

---

denoted roughly south Karnāṭaka and Kuntala North Karnāṭaka of those days.

[1] Mahiṣaka is taken by some to mean the name of the country on the Narmadā with Māhiṣmati as the capital. There are others, who identify it with Mysore. Though it is difficult to be definite on the point, the mention of Mahiṣaka just after Karṇāṭaka in the list of southern countries here gives additional support to the arguments already put forward in favour of taking it as Mysore at least in the present context. ('History of Kannaḍa Language' by R. Narsimhācārya, pp. 47–48. 'The geographical dictionary of ancient and mediæval India' by Nandolal De, p. 120). As regards Kuntala, there need not be any doubt about its identity as a part of Karnāṭaka. Of course, in the MBh (Bhīṣmaparva 9–52) Kuntala is also mentioned in the list of kingdoms enumerated before those in the south and in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (Chapter 54–32) it is included among the Madhyadeśas. It is very likely that it refers to a branch of the Kannaḍa people, residing in the extreme north of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Kāverī and Tāmraparṇī are mentioned. So also is Daṇḍakāraṇya, abounding in mountains, rivers and caves.[1] Among the countries of the south, mention is made of Ṛṣṭika, Māhiṣaka, Āndhra, Puṇḍra, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kerala.[2] It is possible that Ṛṣṭika mentioned here is about the same as Ṛṣṭika of the Aśokan edicts and it might have been a part of Karnāṭaka, that formed the original home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Māhiṣaka may have been Mysore Karnāṭaka; so also Vaijayanta, referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa as situated in the south, may be Banavāsi in North Kanara.[3] In the absence, however, of unambiguous reference to Karnāṭaka, we are not on firm ground in asserting that it was known to the Rāmāyaṇa either in parts or as a whole. It is more likely that the vast middle region between the rivers Godāvari and Kāveri, which defined the Karnāṭaka of later history, was mostly a forest tract, very thinly populated, known to the Rāmāyaṇa as Daṇḍakāraṇya. In regard to Kiṣkindhā, the capital of Vāli, it must be said that it is generally identified with Ānegondi near Hampi in Karnāṭaka;[4] but it would be rather too fanciful to consider Kiṣkindhā of the Rāmāyaṇa as being as much Karnāṭaka town as Ānegondi later came to be.

The date of the composition of both these epics is one of the most vexed problems in the history of Indian litera-

---

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa 41–11. (दण्डकारण्यं सपर्वत नदीगुहम् ।)

[2] Ibid 41–10,12.

[3] Ibid Ayodhyākāṇḍa 9–12.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar: The Daṇḍakāraṇya, Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume.

ture. Apart from the difficulty of arriving at a definite date or a range of time, the problem of assigning a probable date to a particular passage is too baffling to be solved satisfactorily. As the most priceless literary monuments of ancient India, both the epics have outlived the notion of single authorship and have been subjected to frequent additions and variations. Of course, this applies more to the MBh than to the Rām. All the same, we shall take into account a few points, on which there is likely to be more or less general agreement so that an approximate date might be assigned to the earliest reference to Karṇāṭa(ka) in the MBh. The formation of Karnāṭaka may then be traced as far back as facts will allow.

One of such points is that the MBh as we have it today in its enlarged form was, on the whole, completed by the third or fourth century A.D, possibly earlier and not later. Even first century A.D is considered by some to be the upward limit of the completed epic. Since the term Karṇāṭaka and Kuntala are invariably found in all the printed editions of the MBh and at least Kuntala is accepted in the critical text of BORI, it is but fair to conclude that Karnāṭaka was already known in the first few centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier. The period, during which the MBh is likely to have grown into the stupendous work that it now is, is debatable; but the opinion of Winternitz that "the MBh cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C and not later than the 4th century. A.D"[1] seems quite sound. This also indicates the range of

[1] Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 465.

the antiquity of Karnāṭaka as known to the MBh. But the possibility of greater antiquity is not altogether ruled out.

As regards the Rām, it is taken to have existed in its present form as early as the 2nd century A.D But we are here concerned with the date of the original Rām (books II-VI), which includes the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, containing the references to South India, given before. The original Rām, according to the orthodox critics and some modern scholars, is earlier than the original MBh;[1] whereas, according to Winternitz and a few others, who represent the general trend of opinion today, the older nucleus of the MBh is probably older than the ancient Rām[2] and 'the Rām was composed in the interval which separated the Bhārata from the MBh'.[3]

Without entering into this controversy, we might for our purpose take the 3rd or 4th century B.C as the latest date for the original Rām. Thus the period from the 3rd or 4th century B.C to the 3rd or 4th century A.D at the latest may be taken as the period, during which the original Rām was already composed and the later Rām and the enlarged MBh were completed. There was, evidently, an intervening period, which accounts

---

[1] Macdonell: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 306, p. 309; Vincent Smith: The Oxford History of India, p. 30.

[2] Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1, p. 516.

[3] Progress of Indic Studies, BORI p. 131.

for the difference between the geographical knowledge contained in the original Rām and that contained in the enlarged edition of the MBh—an inference that is strengthened by the nature of the references to South India in both the epics.

We are, therefore, inclined to think that Karnāṭaka, which does not figure in the original Rām but figures more than once in the complete MBh, not only came to be known to the people of North India during this intervening period but also took shape as a region and a people, speaking the Kannaḍa language of the Dravidian stock. One of the reasons for the latter statement is that the original Rām mentions countries in the middle, east and extreme south. It would not have omitted Karnāṭaka, if Karnāṭaka had already taken definite shape, whereas the complete MBh mentions Karnāṭaka or at least Kuntala along with other countries in the south. It has also been inferred from a close study of works on Sanskrit grammar that the whole of the south was little known to Pāṇini (700 B.C), whereas his commentators, viz , Kātyāyana (400 B.C) and Pātañjali (150 B.C) reveal an increasing acquaintance with southern kingdoms and capitals.[1] Though the grammarians cannot be expected to be exhaustive in their geographical allusions, it is true that the South was less known in the time of Pāṇini and became more familiar to his commentators of a later age. None of the aforesaid grammarians mentions Karnāṭaka or parts of it. Only Kātyāyana refers to Mahiṣmat,

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar: Early History of the Deccan, Sec. III, pp. 11-15.

which might be Mysore Karnāṭaka, since he says Mahiṣmat is so called because it contains Mahiṣas or buffaloes and Pātañjali mentions Māhiṣmati as a town.

We have thus seen that Karnāṭaka most probably grew up as an important part of ancient India during the period, indicated by the two great epics and also that the upward limit of that period is the beginning of the Christian era at the latest.

CHAPTER II

On the strength of other evidence, however, it is possible to show that Karnāṭaka, as known to the complete MBh, probably belongs to the pre-christian era; that is, the evolution of Karnāṭaka as a distinct entity will have to be taken as having started before 300 B. C and to have been complete by 100 B. C, to the best of our knowledge today. Some of the evidence, available on the point, may be cited here. According to confirmed Jaina tradition, the Mauryan king Candragupta of the pre-christian period (c. 300 B. C) is said to have travelled along with the sage Bhadrabāhu, accompanied by the Sangha of his disciples, to Punnāṭa i.e. a part of Mysore Karnāṭaka and stayed in Kaḷbappu at Śravaṇabeḷgoḻa for practising penance.[1] The word Punnāṭa occurs as Pounnata in Ptolemy (c. 150 A. D). It is Kannaḍa

---

[1] Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, Intro, p. 37; B.L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 4-10; Hariṣena: Bṛhatkathā Kośa, edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, story No. 131, st. 40. (अनेन सह संघोऽपि समस्तो गुरुवाक्यतः। दक्षिणा-

in origin and clearly indicates the existence of Punnāṭa as a part of Karnāṭaka, where Kannaḍa was being spoken centuries before Christ. The rock edicts of king Aśoka make mention of Raṭhika, Piṭinika and Satiyaputo.[1] The Raṭhikas, mentioned therein, might have been Rāṣṭrikas or the early Raṭṭas i.e. the ancestors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose mother-tongue was Kannaḍa.[2]

The Piṭinikas are the Pratiṣṭhānakas, very likely the forefathers of the Śātavāhanas, whose capital was Pratiṣṭhāna and who seem to have hailed from and ruled over

---

पथदेशस्थपुन्नाटविषयं ययौ ॥)

The earliest Kannaḍa inscription on this subject (c. 650 A.D) is Śravaṇabelgoḻa 31.

In a very illuminating article in the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrike, (Vol. 26-1 & 2) entitled "Karnāṭakakke Jainadharmada āgamana", Mr. Govind Pai contends that the Candragupta of this traditional account is Samprati Candragupta, grandson of Aśoka and not Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya Dynasty. He further says that Samprati Candragupta ruled at Ujjain and migrated to the South with Bhadrabāhu later than 230 B. C and not in c. 300 B.C.

[1] Radhakumud Mookerji: Aśoka, Rock Edict No. 5—text p. 226 and R. E. No. 2—text p. 223.

[2] Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, pp. 19-21. Of course, there is difference of opinion among scholars as regards the precise meaning of Raṭhika or Rāṣṭrika. We are in complete agreement with Prof. Altekar, whose view is supported by good arguments.

Karnāṭaka. We will have to write about them in greater detail in the second section of this book. Satiyaputo i.e. Satiyaputra may be taken to mean roughly some part or other of Karnāṭaka and in all probability it denotes what is now known as South Kanara or Mangalore Karnāṭaka.[1] It is interesting to note that the MBh also mentions Satīnaras along wlth Karṇāṭa (Sabhāparva 78-98) corresponding to Satiyaputra. It is stated in the Mahāvamśa, a Budhistic work, that Aśoka despatched missionaries to Mahārāṣṭra, Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Banavāsi.[2] Mahārāṣṭra is roughly described to be the country lying between the rivers Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā[3] and is, therefore, the same as the northern portion of ancient Karnāṭaka, otherwise known as Kuntala, whereas Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Banavāsi represent Southern Karnāṭaka. It may be remembered that the term Mahārāṣṭra in this connection does not mean what it did

[1] Nundolal De: The Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediæval India, p. 182; article by Mr. Govind-Pai in the Kanara High School Magazine I No 1, p. 65 Seq, No. 3, p. 101 Seq. Scholars are not agreed on the identification of Satiyaputra; cf. Radhakumud Mookerji: Aśoka p. 131 f.n.; B.A. Saletore: The identification of Satiyaputra pp. 674-677 (Indian Culture Vol. 1 No. 4); V. R. R. Diksitar: Who were the Satiyaputras, pp. 493-496 (Indian Culture Vol. 1 No. 3). Several other articles on the subject have been written.

[2] Radhakumud Mookerji: Aśoka, pp. 32-3 and Dr. Geiger's Mahāvamśa, Ch. 12.

[3] Nundolal De: The Geo. Dic. of ancient and mediæval India, p. 118.

later,—the country of the Marāṭhi-speaking people. In the chronicles of Ceylon, it is narrated that a Coḷa king Elala by name conquered Lankā in 205 B.C with the help of the Mysore army.[1] Ptolemy, a Greek geographer of c 150 A.D already referred to, mentions in his work places such as Badiamaioi (Badāmi), Inde (Inḍi), Kalligeris (Kalkeri), Modogoulla (Mudagal), Petirgala (Paṭṭadakal), Banaouasei (Banavāsi), Tagara, Baithana, Sirimalaga (Maḷakheḍ), Aloe (Ellapur) and Pasage (Palasige).[2] These are towns of ancient Karnāṭaka, bearing names many of which are of Kannaḍa origin and suggesting the existence of a prosperous and trading country in centuries from before Christ The same author speaks of Pounnata (which is Punnāṭa) and refers to the beryls i.e. the Vaiḍūrya gems of that

[1] The Lost Cities of Ceylon, p. 26 R. Narasimhācārya : History of Kannaḍa language, p. 48.

[2] McCrindle : Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 167, 171, 175, 176, 180, 181 ; cf. Govind Pai : Tolemiya Hippokoura (Prabuddhakarṇāṭaka, Vol XXIII, No. 1). In this article written in Kannaḍa, Mr. Pai has tried to identify many of the places, mentioned above. According to him, Petirgala is Hattirkihāḷ in Bāgevāḍi Taluka, Bijapur Dt. and not Paṭṭadakal as is supposed; Sirimalaga is not Maḷakheḍ but Cimmalagi (called 'Sirmalage' in the inscriptions) in Bāgevāḍi Taluka, Bijapur Dt. These suggestions are well worth considering. Some of the other names identified by him are Hippokoura (Hūvina Hipparagi), Nagarouris (Nāgūr), Tabaso (Tavasi), Tiripangalida (Gadahinglaj) and Soubouttou or Sabatha (Savadi).

country.[1] He mentions Malippala, which may be Mālpe, a sea-coast town of western Karnāṭaka.[2] He also refers to Larika and Kandaloi as names of countries, identified by some with Rāṣṭrika and Kuntala. His references to Ariake Sadinon, meaning probably Āryaka Śātakarṇi and to Baithana as the royal seat of Siro(e) P(t)olemaios i.e. Sri Pulimey clearly indicate his knowledge of the Śātavāhana kings, their kingdom and capital. The word Pulimey, meaning 'one with a body like a tiger's' in Kannaḍa, bears testimony to the prevalence of Kannaḍa as the mother-tongue of the Śātavāhana kings, one of whom calls himself as the lord of the Kuntala country.[3] It is also to be noted that the Periplus (70 A. D) refers to Siropolemius of Baithana.[4] One may observe here that a Greek play (c 200 A. D) discovered in Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, has its scene laid in the same Mālpe and contains words identified as Kannaḍa by some scholars, who have made a careful study of the subject,[5] though opinion is divided on the point. In the Gāthāsaptaśati of Hālarāja (c 200 A. D) pure Kannaḍa words like Poṭṭa and Tuppa have been found

[1] McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 180, 334.

[2] Ibid, p. 175.

[3] Hālarāja: Gāthāsaptaśati, Colophon of the work: श्रीमत्कुन्तलजनपदेश्वर प्रतिष्ठानपत्तनाधीश........हालाद्युपनामक श्रीसातवाहननरेन्द्रानिर्मिता........सप्तशत्यवसानमागता ।

[4] S. Srikanthasastri: Sources of Karnāṭaka History Vol. I, p. 1.

[5] Govind Pai: Greek Nāṭakadalli Kannaḍamātu.

to occur alongside of very ancient verbal roots of Kannada viz., Tīr (meaning 'to be able') and Piṭṭu (meaning 'to strike').[1] This borrowing of Kannaḍa words and verbal roots in the said Prakrit work presupposes the existence of Kannaḍa as a growing language in the pre-christian era. The excavations in Candravaḻḻi near Citradurga in Mysore have resulted in the discovery of an ancient capital town, in which coins and other relics of the Śātavāhana period have been found. They all point to a kingdom and a capital town, which had from before the Christian era attained a high status, carrying on trade with such distant countries as Italy and China.[2] A reference to the people of Karnāṭaka as 'Karunāṭar' is clearly found twice in one of the early works in Tamiḻ of 200 A.D.[3] That is an additional proof of the

[1] Hālarāja: Gāthāsaptaśati, I-83, III-89, II-71, I-61 & IV-49. Vide also Mr. Govind Pai's article on 'Kannaḍa Sāhityada Prācīnate' in Udayabhārata, Vol II-5, p. 116-7.

[2] Dr. M. H. Krishna: Pre-historic Dakhan, p. 234 (Presidential address to the Anthropology Section of 29th Indian Science Congress, Baroda, 1942).

[3] The references are to be found in Śilappadikāram (Edited by V. R. R. Dīkṣitar), Canto XXVI, lines 105-115, pp. 296-297 and Canto XXV, line 158, p. 289. This work is placed in the Second century A. D. by S. Kriṣnaswāmi Aiyyangār (Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, pp. 16-18) and by V. R. R. Dīkṣitar (The Śilappadi kāram, intro. pp. 9-10). It may, however, be noted that this date is not universally accepted. cf. R. Narasimhācārya: History of Kannaḍa Literature, pp. 8-10 and B. A. Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

existence of Karnāṭaka as a distinct entity in South India during the pre-christian era. There are one or two early references to Karnāṭaka, which may be pointed out here. They cannot be dated precisely on account of the uncertainty of the date of the works, in which they occur. In Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika, Karnāṭa figures twice in the course of a dialogue between Vīraka and Candanaka (act VI between st. 20-21). This would be valuable as one of the earliest references to Karnāṭa only if Mṛcchakaṭika were to be placed some time before Christ or in the beginning of the Christian era by further research on the date of the play. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Kuntala is listed along with countries in the middle (54-32) but also included in the Southern countries along with Vanavāsika, Mahārāṣtra and Mahiṣaka (54-45 to 48) and Karnāṭa along with Mahārāṣtra is mentioned later (55-23). Apart from certain inaccuracies, which have crept into it, it is worth noting that the portion, in which these references occur, is considered to be the oldest part of the Purāṇa belonging to the first few centuries of the Christian era.[1]

It is a moot question whether Karnāṭaka existed as a separate entity in the pre-epic period. Attempts have been made to speculate on the earliest possible references to Karnāṭaka and its people. One such attempt is based on the interpretation of the pictographic script of Mohenjo Daro, the place that has disclosed to the students of ancient Indian history the most astonishing vestiges of a very ancient civilization. "The people of Karnāṭaka are appa-

[1] Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1, pp. 559-60.

rently referred to in one of the seal inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro as one of the ancient tribes of the land". The sign used to mention them is said to contain a symbol to denote an eye. "In the Proto-Dravidian language of Mohenjo Daro it will read 'Kaṇ', 'eye' or 'to see'. The small sign placed above it is the determinative of personality. Therefore it will read 'Kaṇṇan' 'One who sees',....The complete sign will read Kaṇṇanir, 'people who have eyes'. This evidently refers to a tribe, to a number of people called so. The ancient word Kannaḍigas by which the people of modern Karnāṭaka are mentioned, seems to be a Sanskrit modification of Kaṇṇanir[1]". Father Heras, who has put forward this view, has also written an article on the religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the inscriptions[2], wherein he mentions Iruvan, Viḍukaṇ, Eṇmey, Mūnkaṇ and Mīnkaṇ as epithets, describing the supreme deity, known to the Mohenjo Daro age. These are terms which are taken from Tamiḻ but closely resembling old Kannaḍa. If they did represent the language of Mohenjo Daro correctly, then the existence of Kannaḍa as the language of the said Kaṇṇanir people would also be established. It, however, seems to us that the whole speculation, though fascinating, is more fanciful than convincing. The decipherment of that pictographic script is still an unsolved problem and it is very difficult at this stage to arrive at any interpretation, that will receive universal acceptance.

[1] Heras: Karnāṭaka and Mohenjo Daro (The Karnāṭaka Historical Review. Vol. IV, Nos. 1-2) pp. 1-2.

[2] Heras: The religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the inscriptions. (Bombay University Journal Vol. V, pt. I).

There is another trend of speculation, that traces the antiquity of the Kannaḍa race to the earliest Vedic period by a study of Vedic etymology and mythology. Mr. S. B. Joshi, who represents this trend, has elaborated his thesis in his book in Kannaḍa called 'Kannaḍada Nele'. According to him, the word Kannaḍa, of which Karnāṭa is a Sanskrit rendering, stands for the Kannaḍa country in the main, its two components being Kan and Nāḍu. Kan means the Kanna(ṇṇa) race, which is the ancestral stock of the later Kannaḍa people. The Kannas themselves are a branch of the earliest pre-Aryan Dravidians known as Kaḻawar or Kaḻḻar (meaning 'thieves'), who belong to the Ṛgvedic era, being cattle-breeders and cattle-lifters by profession and worshippers of Rudra-Śiva as indicated by hymns like 'stenānām pataye namah' etc. The Kaḻawar race is said to be Mūla-drāviḍa and the Kanna race Ārya-Drāviḍa, resulting from the mixture of Aryan and Dravidian blood, a mixture that had already commenced in the age of the Ṛgveda and given rise to Karnāṭa culture.[1] The presence of certain Dravidian words in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads is pointed out as proof of the said racial amalgamation. Among others, the word 'Maṭacī' occuring in Chāndogya, one of the earliest Upaniṣads, is taken to be a Sanskritised form of the Kannaḍa word 'Miḍice' meaning 'a grasshopper, a locust', by scholars of repute like Dr. Jacobi and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[2] All this, it is said, suggests the prevalence of Kannaḍa as a

---

[1] S. B. Joshi: Kannaḍada Nele, p. 124.

[2] Ibid; p. 56. (मटचीहतेषु कुरुष्वाटिक्या सह जाययोषास्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे प्रद्राणक उवास—छांदोग्योपनिषत्, [I. 10. I].

*

separate dialect of the Draviḍian family in the vast Vedic and Upaniṣadic period. Though a fuller discussion of the view is out of place here, it may be noted that the main position about the origin and the antiquity of Kannaḍa is far from convincing. There can, however, be little doubt as to the existence of a pre-Aryan people and language even prior to the period of the Ṛgveda and much more so during the Vedic period. It may also be conceded that one stock of these people might be Dravidian, speaking a Dravidian language. But there is no compelling evidence to show that in the Vedic age, the Kannaḍa branch of the Dravidian stock had formed itself into a separate unit with its own dialect. All those words in the Vedic literature, which appear to be derived from Kannaḍa, might have been borrowed at the time from the parent Dravidian tongue, the common source of all the later variants.

Another viewpoint, tracing Kannaḍa to Vedic antiquity, is sponsored by Mr. D. R. Bendre. The substance of his contention is that there are two races at the source of the Kannaḍa-kula, whose combination has evolved the Kannaḍa race, known to later history. They are the Kaṇṇas or Kāleyas and Naras or Nāṭas, well-known to history and Purāṇic legend. It is the latter, the Nāṭas who by inter-mixture with Kal-Kāleyas, spread over the area from the Kaḻinda mountain, Kālindi river and Kaliṅga country to the western sea and gave rise to the Karnāṭaka race[1]. This inter-mixture is suggested by the two compo-

---

cf. Maṭacī, pp. 253–4 (in 'Some Linguistic Notes' by P. C. Bagchi, IHQ Vol. IX, No. I).

[1] D. R. Bendre: Sāhitya Saṃśodhana, pp. 156–7.

nents of the term Kannaḍa viz. Kal and Naḍa, which stand for the two races, mentioned above. These races can be traced back to the Vedic and even pre-Vedic ages, thus establishing the existence of the amalgamated race of the Kannaḍa people in the far-off centuries. Despite the subtle analysis of ancient history and legend, which has yielded the above result, one is inclined to think that the speculation needs to be substantiated by clearer evidence from Vedic and Purāṇic literature; because the possibility of Kannaḍa having been merged in the larger Dravidian race in the pre-epic period is great, in the absence of unambiguous evidence.

Perhaps the only scientific approach to the question is being made by archæological research, research that aims at unearthing the pre-history of the Karnāṭaka territory in the Deccan along systematic lines. From the excavations, carried out so far at Candravaḻḻi, Brahmagiri, Māski, Herakal and such other sites, it is amply clear that Karnāṭaka is rich in pre-history of thousands of years and that the study of pre-historics has a great future in the province. It is interesting to note some of the conclusions of experts on the subject. "The pre-history of Mysore goes back to the lower Paleolithic times. Evidences occur of cultures corresponding to the lower Paleolithic, the microlithic, the early neolithic, the full neolithic and the iron ages before the commencement of history[1]." .... "We can conclude that what I have called 'Isila culture' or the pre-historic iron age culture of the Dakhan extended from the northern districts of the Mysore State to the south-western districts

[1] M. H. Krishna: Pre-historic Dakhan, p. 230.

of Hyderabad and from the south-eastern districts of the Bombay Presidency to the Ceded Districts of the Madras Province[1]." The emergence of Karnāṭaka as a distinct unit in the long pre-history of the Deccan is an unknown factor. But it is fair to say that ancient Karnāṭaka must have played a part in the pre-historic period, nearer to the historic and that the 'Isila culture', referred to, might have been the earliest stage of civilization attained by the Kannaḍa people in the remote past.

CHAPTER III

Some of the questions that confront us in the study of ancient Karnāṭaka are:—(1) how did the name 'Kannaḍa' or Karnāṭaka come to be attached to the country, the people and the language? (2) when and in what manner did the Kannaḍa people evolve themselves into a separate unit of the Dravidian family? (3) who were the original people, that built up Karnāṭaka? (4) What are the relations obtaining between Kannaḍa and Sanskrit as well as Kannaḍa and other sister languages of the Dravidian stock? For want of relevant historical facts, it is not astonishing if some of these questions will always remain unsettled. But it is possible to make certain plausible inferences, based on a close study of history, literature and etymology.

[1] Ibid, p. 251.

In regard to the first question, it is generally accepted by scholars to-day that 'Karnāḍu' or 'Kannaḍa' is the original name of the country, the people and the language of Karnāṭaka. 'Karnā(ṇā)ṭa(ka) is only a Sanskritised form of 'Karnāḍu' or its later form 'Kannaḍa', though 'Karnā(ṇā)-ṭa(ka)' finds mention earlier than 'Karnāḍu' or 'Kannaḍa' for the obvious reason that Sanskrit literature is more ancient than Kannaḍa and Sanskritised forms of proper names in Kannaḍa are mostly used in Sanskrit works and Sanskrit inscriptions, referring to Karnāṭaka. The grounds on which 'Karnāḍu' or 'Kannaḍa' may be considered earlier than Karnāṭa are mainly these: firstly, there are reasons to believe that the Kannaḍa people had existed for some time with a distinctive name for themselves before they came in contact with the Aryans and with the Sanskrit language. Secondly, they are called Karunāḍar, Karunāḍagan in early Tamil works and epigraphs. Lastly, most of the derivations of Karnāṭa(ka) suggested by Sanskrit writers of the past are fanciful and unconvincing. It is significant to note that the first obtainable work in Kannaḍa (of the 9th century A. D viz. Kavirājamārga) uniformly uses the word Kannaḍa perhaps for the first time and not Karnāṭa for both country and language, thus indicating the usage in indigenous tradition. Scholars are not, however, agreed as to the derivation of the word Kannaḍa itself. Kannaḍa is variously derived as follows: 'Kar' plus 'Nāḍu' (Kannāḍu-Kannaḍa), the country of the black soil; Karunāḍu, the big country or the high country, that is on the Deccan plateau; 'Kammitu Nāḍu' the sweet, fragrant country; 'Kaṇ Nādu', the land of the Kaṇs; 'Kal Nādu' the product of the two races Kal and Nāḍa. It must be admitted that the origin

of the term defies any approach to finality. All the same, the singular mention of 'Karunāḍar' in a Tamil work of 200 A. D, as already noted, leads us to infer that, in all probability, 'Kannaḍa' is derived from 'Karunādu', meaning either the big or the high country.[1] Support is lent to this view by the geographical characteristic of the vast plateau, over which the early Kannaḍigas might have spread far and wide so that both the vastness and the high altitude of the region may have been meant by the term. 'Karunāḍu' compressed itself into 'Karnāḍu' by the law of phonetic decay and as is the case with so many Kannaḍa forms (Irme-Imme, Perme-Hemme), it became Kannāḍu by the process of assimilation and ultimately Kannaḍa again by the law of phonetic decay.[2] 'Karunāḍu' at first meant the country and 'Karunāḍar' the people of this country, but when it assumed the form of 'Kannaḍa', 'Kannaḍa' stood for country, people as well as language. The naming of

[1] It may be remembered here that in later Tamil literature and epigraphic records, Karunāḍagan (700 A.D), Karunaḍam (14th cen. A.D) occur.

[2] The shortening of the long vowel in phonetic decay is common in Kannada words as, for instance, 'Tangulu' corrupted from 'Tangūḷ.' 'Kannāḍu' must have, therefore, become 'Kannaḍu' or 'Kanaḍu' (as is found in the current usage of North Karnāṭaka) and then 'Kannaḍa.' The example of 'Punnāḍu,' which was Sanskritised as 'Punnāṭa' in Sanskrit writings, indicates that 'Karnāḍu' must have been changed into 'Karn(ṇ)āṭa' and also the form 'Pounnata' in Ptolemy shows how long back the shortening of the vowel might have taken place both in 'Kannāḍu' and 'Punnāḍu.

some regions within the Kannaḍa country by their geographical peculiarity as in 'Kisukāḍunāḍu', 'Bayalasīme', 'Malenāḍu' etc. may be adduced as further proof for naming the whole Kannaḍa region in the same manner.[1] At any rate, it seems almost certain that Kannaḍa is a contraction of Kannāḍu, the two parts of the compound word being 'Kan' or 'Kar' and Nāḍu. The interpretation of the first element is and will remain controversial for the student of Kannaḍa etymology.

We can now probe into the dim past and perceive as far as possible the evolution of the Kannaḍa people as a distinct entity in South India. Granting the insufficiency of data at our disposal, we can attempt to picture for ourselves in general outline how the Kannaḍas sprang into separate existence in early times. On the basis of a linguistic study of the interrelations between the main languages forming the Dravidian stock, it has been rightly surmised that Telugu was the first Dravidian language to be separated from the proto-Dravidian parent. Kannaḍa and Tamil̲ lived together in the closest kinship for some-

[1] It has been suggested that it is not unlikely that 'Karunāḍu' meaning 'a big region' came to be known as 'Mahārāṣṭra' in Sanskrit, since it is certain that Mahārāṣṭra in early history did not have the same connotation that it came to have in later history. Gradually, however, the term Mahārāṣṭra came to be applied to the Northern portion of Karnāṭaka of the time and 'Karnāḍu' or 'Kannaḍa' to the remaining part. In course of time, this 'Mahārāṣṭra' was occupied by the Marathi-speaking people and thus acquired its present connotation.

time. Kannaḍa next branched off into a separate dialect and Malayāḻam followed much later as an off-shoot of Tamiḻ. What applies to the languages applies equally well to the people, speaking these languages. The Kannaḍa people, must have lived an almost indistinguishable common life with the earliest Tamilians for a fairly long period at a time when the Telugu people were building up a separate life for themselves under Aryan influence. The Kannaḍas separated later from the original stock and formed an entity of their own. But their previous connection with Tamiḻ was so intimate and deep-rooted that right from early times till today, the affinity between Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ has been astonishingly close, both in point of structure and vocabulary, the affinity deepening and growing more and more as we move further back in linguistic history. The exact nature of the proto-Dravidian language is still a puzzle. We do not know whether it was mostly old Tamiḻ or a mixture of all the Dravidian languages. The view has been recently put forward that Kannaḍa appears to be earlier and purer in respect of certain sounds and root-words[1], a view that deserves to be examined dispassionately and tested by further research. We have, however, assumed here that there was a kind of composite proto-Dravidian tongue, which gave rise to the different Dravidian languages and that on the whole,

---

[1] B. M. Srikantia: Pūrvada Haḻagannaḍa Mattu Tamiḻu, pp. 46–54, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike Vol 27, No. 1 (Speech delivered as President of the Kannaḍa section of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Tirupati in 1940.)

Tamiḻ approaches it in its most ancient form more than Kannaḍa, Telugu or any other Dravidian tongue.

The stages through which the Kannaḍa people may be conceived to have passed in early times are: firstly, as members of the proto-Dravidian family without the least sign of separateness, nextly, as members of the Kannaḍa-Tamiḻ brotherhood with very slight indication of separate development and lastly, as Kannaḍa Dravidians, with the definite beginning of a separate existence. It was most probably during the epic period, the extent of which has been indicated before, that the Karnāṭas started on a career of their own. This evolution was probably occasioned by the union of Aryan and Dravidian races, as is shown by the fact that Kannaḍa language and culture, known to history, are nowhere immune from the influence of Aryan language and culture, though possibilities of inherent immunity are very much in evidence in the roots of Kannaḍa as well as Tamiḻ. It is well to remember that the Kannaḍiga, whom the Aryan met and transformed into an Arya—Dravidian, had already attained a certain stage of culture and progress. Being a member of the Dravidian family, he had ceased to be nomadic and had settled down in the vast tableland in the middle of the South as a son of the soil and sought his fortune by the sweat of his brow. His contact with Dravidians in other parts of the South was naturally becoming infrequent. Consequently, the Kannaḍa dialect, which is Dravidian in essence and closely akin to Tamiḻ, was developing into an independent language and the life of the Kannaḍa people was being built up by their own efforts. This is the only plausible inference, that can be drawn from a study of the basic

Kannaḍa vocabulary, the vocabulary that is purely indigenous i.e. not borrowed from Sanskrit. The late Narasimhācārya, who made a study of the subject, says "the civilisation of the Kannaḍigas, as indicated by the indigenous words of their language, was by no means negligible, though not of a very high standard. The Kannaḍigas were well acquainted with agriculture and possessed some knowledge of the ordinary arts of life, such as spinning, weaving, house-building etc....They delighted in war and were armed with several weapons such as the bow, arrow, spear, shield and sword.[1]" It is evident from this study that the early Kannaḍigas who became settlers in the Kannaḍa land were a kind of agricultural and martial community with a dialect of their own, which was fast developing into a language. The appellations of 'Uru', 'Haṭṭi', 'Pāḍī' or 'Vāḍi' and 'Bīḍu' all meaning settlement or habitation given to towns and villages in Karnāṭaka indicates the fact that giving up the nomadic life, the Kannaḍiga was settling down and owning

---

[1] R. Narasimhācārya: History of Kannaḍa Language, pp. 49-50. Many of the words listed in this book on pp. 49-50 in f.-n. are found in Tamiḻ either as they are or with slight variations and a few of them only are unknown to Tamiḻ and peculiar to Kannaḍa. This shows how closely related to Tamiḻ even the basic vocabulary in Kannaḍa is. It also indicates the fact that, having branched off from its original family, Kannaḍa was developing its own sounds, words and forms in addition to the original stock, which it never forsook. A more systematic study of this basic

land and other property.[1] Recent studies have revealed to us how the Kannaḍiga was a cattle-breeder and shepherd from very ancient times and how that very profession led him to be a warrior out of a strong impulse to protect his estate from molestation. Of course, life all over the world has passed through these stages of growth and it may be said of any community that its early civilisation was mainly pastoral or agricultural. Even today, the unsophisticated Indian peasant is almost a prototype of his precursor in the pre-historic period. The study of ancient Tamiḻ by Caldwell, which in fact served as a basis for the late R. Narsimhācārya in his study of Kannaḍa, has resulted in a similar account of the pre-Aryan civilisation of the Dravidians. "They were well acquainted with 'agriculture' and delighted in 'war'. All the ordinary or necessary arts of life, including 'spinning', 'weaving' and 'dyeing' existed

---

vocabulary is sure to throw a good deal of light on the life and the language of ancient Karnāṭaka.

[1] 'ūru' is derived by some from 'Pura' (Sk) and 'Vāḍi' from 'Vāṭi' or 'Vāṭika' (Sk). Though both 'Pura' and 'Vāṭi' do mean "a dwelling", their most current meaning is 'a city or a town' and 'a garden' respectively. The terms 'ūru' and 'Vāḍi', which have their natural root-sense in Kannaḍa are more Dravidian than Sanskrit, though it is true that the Prakrit form of 'Ura' from 'Pura' may have got into certain words ('Uragapura:- Uraiyura'). 'ūru' and Vāḍi mean, in Kannaḍa, any settlement or village, not necessarily a town or city.

among them.[1]" This extract may be compared with the one about the Kannaḍigas quoted above. Thus it appears that the Dravidian civilisation all over the south was essentially similar at the time when the Aryan immigration took place. All the same, people belonging to the different branches of the Dravidian family, speaking Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ were evolving different forms for each, particularly in respect of language, so that they were to receive the same Aryan culture in different moulds of civilized life. For instance, the early Tamiḻian was more advanced than any other of his group in point of language and literature. A study of the Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ languages also makes it clear that Kannaḍa is more influenced by Sanskrit than Tamiḻ in respect of vocabulary and structure. This means that Kannaḍa was less developed than Tamiḻ when it received the impact of Sanskrit. As a rule, the less developed a language and a people are, the more amenable to outside influence they are. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the Kannada people had reached a stage of development in cultural life which was both common to and different from that of the other Dravidian people before they came in contact with the Aryan immigrants in the South. The Aryan contact proved to be a great force in as much as it shaped and stabilised the racial and cultural individuality of the Kannaḍa people and made them conscious of the possibilities of a much more progressive culture, arising out of the Kannaḍa language and the Kannaḍa tradition in conjunction with Aryan influence.

---

[1] Caldwell: Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 114.

Who were the original Kannaḍa people, that came in direct contact with the Aryans and built up the culture of ancient Karnāṭaka? Can we trace them back by studying the existing castes and tribes of the Kannaḍa country? Anthropologists and ethnologists have, fortunately for us, surveyed the whole of South India, chiefly Mysore, on scientific lines and arrived at certain facts and figures. Admittedly, however, the study has been incomplete and inconclusive. The opinions of well-known scholars on the subject have been so divergent that it is hard to gather points of common agreement. All the same, we shall try to state certain broad facts sufficient to our purpose. Like the rest of South India, Karnāṭaka is made up of at least three primary elements: (1) pre-Dravidian, (2) Dravidian and (3) Aryan. The present population in all its confusing diversity is a complex and unrecognizable product of the impact between these primary strata of society. In general, it may be said that the element of the pre-Dravidian or Dravidian is greater as we go lower in the rung of the social ladder from the Brahmin down to the member of the most primitive tribes. The pre-Dravidians are supposed to be such forest and hill tribes as the Iruḻa and Kāḍukuruba, forming an entirely distinct population from the Dravidian.[1] It seems that they were the earliest inhabitants of South India, mostly primitive and ferocious in their ways of life, along with Śabaras, Mātaṅgas and Beḍas, who have been referred to in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa literature and epigraphical records. They are perhaps indicated by the term Rākṣasa in the Rāmāyaṇa as distict from Vānara, who

[1] Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 138 and 144.

probably were the Dravidians of the time. The Kannaḍa Dravidians, who built up a civilisation of their own before the advent of the Aryans, fall into two groups ; (1) those that were pastoral and agricultural and laid themselves open to the Aryanising influences like the Nāḍavar and the Banṭas, the Kuruba and the Okkaliga and thus became Kṣatriyas i.e. the warriors and the ruling princes of later times ; (2) those like the Baḍaga, Koṭa and perhaps Toḍa, who remained mostly aloof from the Aryan impact and lived a life of their own in narrow grooves. These latter speak a dialect of Kannaḍa even now and it would be highly instructive to make an exhaustive study of their life, manners and language, so that one could get a glimpse of the culture of the earliest Kannaḍas.

CHAPTER IV

When and in what manner did the Aryo-Dravidian contact take place and exert a formative influence on the Kannaḍa people? Again, what is the contribution of ancient Karnāṭaka and Indian culture to each other? We have shown how the Kannaḍa people might have evolved into a separate entity during the epic period. The first Aryan settlements, with which the early Kannaḍas came in contact, probably find mention in the Rāmāyaṇa. The sage Agastya, who is described in the epics and the Purāṇas as the first Aryan to cross the Vindhya ranges and colonise in the South, might have been among the earliest of the Aryan Brahmins who are referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa as

dwelling in Āśrams near Pancavaṭī, engaged in religious practice.[1] Considering the geographical position of those Aryan habitats, one can perceive that the first Aryan contact must have been established with the Kannaḍa-speaking Dravidians, dwelling in that part of the South.[2] As late as the 9th century A.D, the Kannaḍa land is described as extending from the river Kāveri to the river Godāvari and there is historical evidence in support of the fact that the Kannada people were spread over the wide

[1] Araṇyakāṇḍa, 11th Sarga. The Āśram of Agastya is located near the river Kāveri also in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, 41, 15–16), a fact, which indicates that he might have entered the south earlier and moved on into the interior to settle over there and set up more than one Āśram.

[2] Reference to the Āndhras along with Puṇḍras, Śabaras etc. in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII Pañcikā–18) apparently suggests that the Aryans had migrated into the South much earlier. But it has been shown that the Aryans' knowledge of the entire South dates from about the 4th cen. B.C. The Aryans might have moved, if at all, during the earlier period up to the South-east of 'Āryāvarta', where the Northern end of the Āndhra country lay. The Rāṃ refers to 'Āndhra', 'Coḷa', 'Pāṇḍya' and 'Keraḷa' and several places in the South—a fact that indicates that the Aryans had by that time travelled all over the South from one end to another, after crossing the Vindhya range and passing through the high tableland (then known as Daṇḍakāraṇya), which was mostly the abode of the early Kannaḍas.

expanse of the central tableland of the South since the beginning of the Christian era.[1] Much more is it probable that in the earlier centuries of the Rāmāyaṇa era, the Kannaḍa branch of the Dravidian race inhabited the whole of that middle region. At any rate, it is obvious that the Tamiḻ-speaking Dravidians could not have been the first to form associations with the Aryan settlers, since even in the earliest extant literature of Tamiḻ, the northern limits of Tamiḻnāḍu, called South India in a restricted sense, are said to be defined roughly by the Krișnā Tungabhadrā frontier[2] and since it is also admitted that the Aryan influence reached the Tamiḻ land through the immigration of Agastya.[3] Though the nature of the Aryan impact in the South is not exactly known to us, it might have been more cultural and missionary than coercive, since the Aryan colony mostly consisted of Brahmins, living a peaceful life in their forest huts, though the Aryan Kșatriyas also came into the South by and by. These Brahmins must have brought with them the rich heritage of Vedic culture, of which the institution of sacrifice was a predominant feature. Beyond doubt, they were more civilized and intellectual than the early Kannaḍas, whom they came across. It is, therefore, natural that the law of the civilizing process of the lower by the higher began to

---

[1] Kavirājamārga, I-36 (ಕಾವೇರಿಯಿಂದಮಾ ಗೋದಾವರಿವರ ಮಿರ್ದ ನಾಡದಾ ಕನ್ನಡದೊಳ್ ॥ ಭಾವಿಸಿದ ಜನಪದಂ ವಸುಧಾವಲಯ ವಿಲೀನ ವಿಶದ ವಿಷಯ ವಿಶೇಷಂ ॥)

[2] S. Krișnaswāmi Ayyangār; Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, pp. 1-3.

[3] Ibid. pp. 50-51.

operate in due course. The Brahmins must have opened up a new vista of life to the surrounding Kannaḍas by their higher religion and philosophy, refined manners and customs and thus transformed the entire population into a more advanced and Aryanised section of the Dravidian group than before. Their contribution to the Kannaḍa branch is, therefore, an undisputed fact, though we are not in a position today to visualise it in fuller detail. Suffice it to say that the Kannaḍa language, which has in all its stages shown deep-rooted relationship with Sanskrit and will continue to maintain the same, in itself affords ample proof of the distinct contribution made by the Aryan to the development of Kannaḍa culture. As against Tamiḻ, Kannaḍa has imported nearly all its technical vocabulary, referring to all branches of knowledge and systems of thought, from the Sanskrit source. Even in common parlance, the most illiterate Kannaḍiga of today is familiar with a small percentage of Sanskrit words in their pure or corrupt form. These words have become part and parcel of the popular diction in present-day Kannaḍa.

This being the case, it may seem unjustifiable to speak of any contribution of ancient Karnāṭaka to Indian culture. But the history of Indian culture and its expansion in South India is, generally speaking, not one of condescension or exploitation. At its best, it is a process of compromise and reciprocation. All that is non-Aryan and is included in Indian culture is mostly due to the all-inclusive and compromising attitude of the Aryan, who knew how to encounter and survive conflicting forces without loss of individuality. The Vedic culture of sacrifice and the deification of natural elements was reorientated by the

Upanisadic idea of the Supreme Being and the Bhāgavata view of the school of Bhakti. In the same way, the Aryan culture that reached the South was variously affected and refashioned by the culture of the different Dravidian groups who had certain traditions of their own. Some of the contributions of South India to Indian culture have been ably set forth by Mr. Krişnaswāmi Ayyangār in his book on the subject. But they mostly refer to Tamilian South India and are based on a study of Tamil literature and history. The contribution of Karnāṭaka to Indian culture still remains one of the "fresh woods and pastures new" for students of the subject.

In regard to ancient Karnāṭaka, the absence of any kind of evidence in Kannaḍa of very early times, epigraphic or literary, has been a serious handicap to a detailed discussion of the subject. Nevertheless, the following remarks are made on the strength of available sources in Sanskrit and in later Kannaḍa and in the hope that they may be confirmed or modified by further research. To start with, it should be noted that we are fully conscious of the fact that the following is more or less an imaginative reconstruction on the basis of meagre data. The central tableland of the Deccan was for the most part a dense forest region at the time when Aryans penetrated into the South. Their very first colonies had, therefore, to be along river banks or situated in the valleys or on the heaths, where some open space was available and the sky was visible. They lived on the natural forest produce, the roots and fruits supplied by nature. This is what we gather from the reading of the Rāmāyaṇa, which refers to the Daṇḍaka forest and the sparse Aryan settle-

ments along the river Godāvari like Janasthāna and further down, the river Kāveri. As these settlements multiplied, the growing Aryan population must have felt the dire need of better material resources for their maintenance and protection. The Kannaḍa Dravidian, who possessed in him the strong urge for self-preservation, had already begun to clear the forest fringes and the fallow ground and to cultivate arable lands. Encouraged by his first victory over obdurate nature, he set out with his extraordinary spirit of adventure to cut down whole forests and turned them into cultivable land. The word 'Okkal', which is purely Kannaḍa, helps us to conjure up an image of the first agricultural activities of the Kannaḍas, aided by rain and weather, and of the natural exultation of the Kannaḍa cultivators over their first crops, rising from the earth and shining in the sun.[1] By gradual stages, what was Kāḍu i.e. thick forest was turned into Nāḍu i.e. cultivable land. The Kavirājamārga describes the Nāḍavar as 'the sons of the soil', the pioneers and leaders

---

[1] The word 'Okkal' occurs in Tamiḻ in the sense of relations or kinsfolk whereas it means in Kannaḍa 'thrashing (the corn), farmer, agricultural settlement and tenant', from which it appears that it is a word of Kannaḍa origin, borrowed by Tamiḻ and used in an allied sense. It may be pointed out here that 'Okkaliyan' in Tamiḻ means "a member of a caste of cultivators from the Kannaḍa province who have settled themselves in the Tamiḻ country mainly in the districts of Madura and Koimbator" (cf. Tamiḻ Lexicon, p. 583)

of Kannaḍa, who were extremely proud of their achievement.[1] It seems to us that these Nāḍavar were among the earliest natives of the Deccan plateau, and their civilization was mainly agricultural The herding of sheep and cattle was also a part of their agricultural life as is evident even today in rural areas. This can also be inferred from a study of place-names like 'Kurahaṭṭi' and 'Etnaṭṭi'. The continuity of agricultural life resulted in possessions of all kinds, whence the urge to settle down and to protect them against the enemy, manifested itself. The agriculturist thus ceased to be nomadic and settled down in hamlets. He became brave and martial. He must have built up fortresses and learnt the use of weapons. It seems that cattle raids were a constant source of irritation to the early Kannaḍiga, as in later history, as attested by numberless epigraphs. His heroic spirit was amply manifested on such occasions. The Aryan Brahmin benefited by the onward march of this material civilization and gave his religious and philosophic heritage to the Kannaḍa population in return for the means of maintenance and protection, afforded to him, against the cruel forest tribes that harassed him. This resulted in a unique synthesis of the Aryan and the Dravidian people, betokening the spirit of voluntary reciprocation. As in later times, the learned priest and the pious sage of the Aryan stock might have been given lands in charity for religious purposes like the performance of sacrifices, worship at a temple and

[1] Kavirājamārga, I–38 and 42; II–28. cf. 'ಕನ್ನಡಕ್ಕೆ ನಾಡವರ್ ಒವಜರ್' I–42 (The Nāḍavars are the Leaders or Pioneers of Kannaḍa)

prayer for one's well-being. Gradually, the Brahmin also must have become a land-lord and accepted the ways of worldly life such as leasing out a land for cultivation and owning property, though he retained the practices of Vedic orthodox in his private life. Therefore, the conversion of the Aryan Brahmin, solely devoted to sacrificial routine or spiritual life in the Āśram environs, to a secular life without sacrificing his orthodox religion appears to be a real contribution made by the Kannaḍas of ancient times, so far as the South is concerned.

In course of time, as the Aryan came down from his spiritual height and the Kannaḍa Dravidian went up in cultural standing, blood relationship must have ensued, causing racial admixture. The brown and middle-statured Kannaḍiga of later history and of the present times seems to be a product of the admixture between the white, tall Aryan and the dark, short Dravidian, thus giving rise to a type without abolishing variations, which are due to other influences unknown to us. This process of racial blending went on as the Aryan advanced into the South to the furthest end, with the degree of admixture varying with local conditions.

The contribution of the early Kannaḍa people to the religious culture of the Aryan is a knotty problem, awaiting more data for a satisfactory solution. The main difficulty in the study of this problem is the paucity of evidence needed to mark off the early Dravidian contribution from the early Kannaḍa. It is being recognized now that even in the Vedic period, the Dravidians possessed a theistic religion of their own and it was possibly intense devotion to Śiva or Rudra Śiva, which characterised their life. If

Mohenjo Daro finds were to be taken into account, devotion to Śiva and the worship of Linga must have been even pre-Vedic and proto-Dravidian. Opinion on this subject is sharply divided but the present writer is more inclined to the view put forward here. The Vedic Aryans, whose main religion was sacrificial in the earliest times, showed theistic leanings, particularly towards the worship of God Śiva under the influence of their Dravidian contemporaries. Later on, the school of Bhakti arose as a system of thought and a strong movement in the Aryan fold itself, laying stress on devotion to Viṣṇu or Śiva according to the different sects and almost concealing its earliest springs, which were Dravidian. The Aryan, who migrated to the South, might have carried with him both the sacrificial religion as well as the orthodox school of devotion, blended in some mysterious manner or expressed in different sects of the community. The Kannaḍa Dravidian had his strong, simple faith in God as the Lord of the universe or as the All-mother; but he was also a prey to superstitions and crude religious practices like animism that never sought any synthesis or unity of thought and action. Madly empirical and emotional as he was, he went after any deity in stone or wood to propitiate and secure benevolence to him and also to get redemption from death, disease or danger. This plurality of religious worship resulting in lack of cohesion is a very sustained trait of the Kannaḍa people in historical times as well as at present. A study of Kannaḍa literature and tradition would supply proofs for these remarks. It might have been the same in cruder form in ancient Karnāṭaka. The Aryan, it seems, was in the first instance greatly impressed by the intense devotion of the

Kannaḍiga towards the creator as a personal God and had his faith in the devotional approach to the Almighty reinforced by greater contact with the Kannaḍa people. The school of Śivabhakti also might have received a great impetus in those early times as a result of the Aryo-Dravidian contact. In historical times, Karnāṭaka has made a rich and varied contribution to the school of Bhakti, a subject which will be dealt with later.

In respect of the diverse beliefs and forms of worship of the early Kannaḍas, the Aryan tried either to discourage crude superstition or raise it to a higher level by his sanction and reformation of the same. The worship of Nāga or the serpent, human or animal sacrifice to the deity, the worship of female deities like Māri and Durgi and spirit worship are some of the aspects of the original Kannaḍa faith, which the Aryans came across and refined into a system.[1] The Sastric sanction which now obtains in Karnāṭaka to Nāgapūja and worship of female deities even among Brahmins is suggestive of the contribution, made by the ancient Kannaḍas towards the variety of religious life in India.

The social system, which prevailed among the original Kannaḍas, was chiefly matriarchal, traces of which we obtain in the practices of certain tribes even today. The

---

[1] It is pointed out that the Mother Goddesses were worshipped in the Vedic times also (S. Śrikanṭhaśāstri: Proto-Indic Religion, p. 3) but the worship of female deities, malevolent or benevolent, as it obtained in ancient Karnāṭaka or later is of a different type with a different ideology and method.

well-known 'Aḻiya Santānada Kaṭṭu' by which the sister's son inherits property among the Banṭas and other tribes of Tuḻunād and the right of succession to a daughter in the absence of a male issue among Kuruba and several other tribes and the title to a share in the property possessed by the son-in-law among Gollas and others—all these are clear indications of that system. The Aryan could not eliminate it from the life of the people. Though the patriarchal social order and the Varnāśrama system, which were introduced in the Kannaḍa country, have revolutionised the life of the people and struck deep roots in the social tradition, the influence of the matriarchal system, which is to be seen even today and which has received the sanction of the Brahmin priesthood is one of the points to be noted in assessing the contribution of ancient Karnāṭaka to Indian culture.

The contribution of the Kannaḍa language to Sanskrit during the ancient period is necessarily difficult to assess, since it is a matter bound up with the influence of Dravidian languages as a group on Sanskrit and the Aryan vernaculars.[1] Still, many of the words, which are recognised as Dravidian loans to Sanskrit, may have been contributed by Kannaḍa, in view of the earliest contact of the Aryan and the Kannaḍa Dravidians. This applies only to words borrowed by Sanskrit after the period of the Aryan immigration into the South. In particular, a few words lika Meke (goat), Ganḍa (Hero), Talpa (Teppa meaning 'a float' in Kannaḍa) which are found in Sanskrit but are not found in Tamil can have been borrowed only from Kannaḍa in which language they do occur.

[1] R. Narsimhācārya: History of Kannaḍa Language, pp. 24–26.

SECOND SECTION

Historical Karnataka

CHAPTER I

We now proceed to describe the heritage of historical Karnāṭaka and assess its contribution to Indian culture. By historical Karnāṭaka is meant Karnāṭaka, of whose past we have a more definite knowledge in recorded history. The history of Karnāṭaka unfolds itself to us more and more clearly as we travel in time from about the beginning of the Christian era towards the present century. We come across copious and varied material – inscriptional and otherwise–, enabling us to understand in broad outline the life of historical Karnāṭaka in all its important phases. It is, therefore, proposed here to deal with Karnāṭaka culture under three broad divisions viz. political, socio-religious and aesthetic (inclusive of literature and the fine arts) and to emphasize the contributions, made in these spheres of activity.

The political culture of Karnāṭaka cannot be appreciated fully without a knowledge of the historical back-ground, against which that culture manifested itself. We are, therefore, giving below a brief survey of the political history of Karnāṭaka, based on a study of the sources available so far. Strangely enough, the earliest political history that we know of is semi-religious. It refers to the relations of the two great Mauryan emperors with Karnāṭaka viz. Candragupta and Aśoka.[1] Candragupta (c 321-297 B.C), the founder of the Mauryan empire, is said to have set foot on

---

[1] The rule of the Nandas, prior to the Mauryas, over Kuntala is referred to in E.C. Vol. VII, Sk. 225 of 1204

the Kannaḍa soil not as an emperor but as a devoted Jaina in the company of his preceptor, Bhadrabāhu and a large group of disciples. He settled in Śravaṇa Beḻgoḻa in Mysore Karnāṭaka for the sake of penance and breathed his last there in accordance with the Jain vow of starvation (Sallekhanā [1]). The history of Jainism in Karnāṭaka dates from that period with the ardent missionary activities of the disciples of Bhadrabāhu, who were despatched all over Karnāṭaka for the purpose. It is not clear whether Karnāṭaka or parts of it formed part of the Mauryan empire in the days of Candragupta, although Rice says, 'that the north of Mysore may even at that period have been a part of the Mauryan empire is not beyond probability [2].' It is in the reign of Aśoka that we have for the first time some definite evidence regarding the political or at least religio-political influence of the Mauryan empire over Karnāṭaka. His rock edicts are found in a few places in Citradurga District (Mysore) as also in Koppaḻa and Māski in Nizam Karnāṭaka. The tone and contents of these edicts are generally ethical and nonpolitical. Still, the form of address in some of them contains a reference to the Mahāmātras or high officials of Isila, to whom greetings are sent by the king and the high officials of Suvarṇagiri [3]. This is an

---

A.D. As the inscription is of a much later date, it need not be seriously taken into account.

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the inscriptions, pp. 3-10.

[2] Ibid, p. 9.

[3] Ibid, p. 11. and Rādhākumud Mookerji: Aśoka, p. 215.

indication of a kind of official relationship, that existed between the Mauryan state and Karnāṭaka. But there are two opinions as to the nature of this relationship. According to one view, Aśoka is supposed to have ruled over most of Karnāṭaka, which became his either as legacy or by conquest. The other view is that the edicts of Aśoka, found elsewhere in north India, clearly suggest that the kingdoms of the South named therein lay on the frontier outside his 'conquered country' or direct dominion and that he organised there purely religious propaganda without use of political authority. It is also held that among those who were not the subjects of Aśoka, reference is made in the edicts to such countries as Riṣṭika and Piṭinika as perhaps his feudatories, different from the Pāṇdyas, Colas etc., who were his neighbours[1]. On a study of the edicts found in places outside the Deccan[2], we are inclined to think that the southern countries, mentioned therein are distinguished from the conquered dominion (VI jita) of Aśoka as lying on the frontier of his empire. The Riṣṭika, Piṭinika, Banavāsi and Mahiṣamaṇḍala, comprising the Karnāṭaka of that time as will be shown presently, appear to have been in a kind of loose and free feudatory position as distinct from the Colas and the Pāṇdyas of the Tamil country, who were independent neighbours, though the edicts do not clearly state it. The small kingdoms of ancient Karnāṭaka, that

[1] S. Krișnaswāmi Ayyangar: Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, pp. 30–31.

[2] Rādhākumud Mookerji: Aśoka, R. E. No. 2 (Girnar) p. 223, R.E. V (Manasehra) p. 226, R.E. XIII (Shahbazgarhi) p. 235.

were in a fluid state and were yet to rise to their full stature must have made room for the religious and cultural propaganda of the great emperor Aśoka and offered willing allegiance to him, impressed by his campaign of spiritual conquest (Dharmavijaya). The rock edicts found in Karnāṭaka, mostly ethical in content and partly official in manner, support this view.

The agricultural and martial community of ancient Karnāṭaka, described in the first section of this book, grew up in course of time and spread all over Karnāṭaka, giving rise to small and independent kingdoms, striving for supremacy over each other. Of these, the Nāḍavars meaning 'sons of the soil' mentioned in Kavirājamārga of 900 A.D. (1–38 and 2-28) seem to belong to the original stock called as 'Raṭhika' or 'Riṣṭika' in the Asokan edicts. 'Raṭhika' or 'Rāṣṭrika' is very likely a Sanskrit rendering of Nāḍavar, a Kannaḍa word (Rāṣṭra meaning Nāḍu). These Rāṣṭrikas, who are spoken of as Raṭhis and Mahāraṭhis from before Christ [1], are shown to be Kannaḍa-speaking and seem to be the ancestors of the Raṭṭas, who rose to power and built up in later times the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire of Karnāṭaka [2]. The Piṭinikas i. e. Pratiṣṭhānakas

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 19–24.

[2] It is significant to note in this connection that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers are described in several records as 'Lords of Laṭṭalūru, the best of towns' (Laṭṭalūrapuravarādhīś vara), from which it is inferred that they hailed from Laṭṭalura, which was their original home and first capital.

appear to have been the forefathers of the Ṣātavāhanas, who ruled with Pratiṣṭhāna as their capital and who were the earliest to found an empire in Karnāṭaka. There may have been similar small states in Banavāsi and Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mysore) at the time of Aśoka, who is said to have sent his spiritual emissaries over there according to Mahāvamśa (v–280). Generally speaking, the political history of Karnāṭaka is a chronicle of several independent kingdoms, nearly each of them succeeding for a few centuries in establishing sway over large parts of Karnāṭaka and the rest of the South by reducing others to vassalage under their imperial influence. In the best of conditions, it was a federation of kingdoms, working in close harmony as an empire as in the Vijayanagara epoch.

The first empire that attracts our attention is that of the Śātavahanas, who reigned from about 200 B.C up to 300 A.D. Their history is better known from the beginning of the Christian era. They ruled over most of the Deccan, extending from the rivers, Narmadā and Godāvari upto Kṛṣṇā and Tungabhadrā, and probably projecting into

The word Laṭṭalura is very probably a corrupt form of Raṭṭarūru (meaning 'the town of the Raṭṭas' in Kannaḍa) thus suggesting its Kannaḍa character. It has been rightly identified with modern Lātur in Bidar district of Nizam Karnāṭaka. It may also be noted that the emblem of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is said to be a plough and they are classed with Kṛṣikas or agriculturists in a certain epigraph of the Pūrva-Cālukyas, dated 945 A.D – facts, which point back to their ancient leanings towards being an agricultural cum martial community.

Mysore further South. This roughly indicates the Āndhra-Karnāṭa regions of the day. As they are known in the Purāṇas as Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas[1], it has been supposed in some quarters that they were Āndhras proper[2]. Eminent authorities on Indian history have usually proceeded on this supposition. But a large number of their coins and inscriptions are found in Karnāṭaka. Many a relic belonging to the Sātavāhanas has been discovered in the Candravaḻḻi excavations in Mysore. Several of the Sātavāhana kings are known as 'Kuntalaswāmi', Kuntala meaning Karnāṭaka in the broader sense of the term. The Bellary Pranta or 'the region round Adoni' is described in the Mākaḍoni inscription as 'Sātahani Āhāra' or the original home of the Śātavāhanas. The Hirehaḍagali copper plates describe that region as Sātāhani Raṭṭha.[3] Hāla and Pulumāyi or Pulumāvi are names in the Śātavāhana dynasty,

---

[1] Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV 24. 12–13, Vāyupurāṇa, 99/348–361 Matsyapurāṇa, 273/1–18.

[2] S. Krișnaswāmi Ayyangār: Some contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. 138 and H. G. Rawlinson: India, a Short Cultural History, p. 156.

[3] Pradyotanasūri of 700 A.D is reported to have said in his KuvalayaMālā that Paiṭhana or Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of the Śātavāhanas, was a centre of Kannaḍa language (p. 8 Kannaḍa nāḍina Charitre). Vātsāyana in his Kāmāsūtra (II Adhikarana VII Chap. 28th Sutra) tells us that Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana was Kuntala:—

कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं (जघान)।

In the Matsyapurāṇa also (273-7), Swātikarṇa is called Kuntala. (कुन्तलः स्वातिकर्णस्तु भविताऽष्टौ समा नृपः ।)

that are probably Kannaḍa in derivation. It is true that Prakrit was their court-language owing probably to the contemporary importance of Prakrit and the patronage, extended by them to Buddhism. Hālarāja, Goutamīputra Śātakarṇi and Pulumāyi are some of the renowned Śātavāhana monarchs. Of these, Goutamīputra Śātakarṇi was the most valiant king, having defeated the Western Satrap Nahāpan in 124 A.D. and extended his dominion over a vast territory, including Gujarat, Mālva, Central India and Berar.

Mention must be made, even in this brief survey, of smaller kingdoms, that kept up the tradition of kingship in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Cuṭus, in particular, ruling at Banavāsi as the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas and belonging to the same Śātakarṇi family, served as a link between the Śātavāhanas and the Kadambas, who succeeded them and expanded their dominion. There were also the Bāṇas ruling in the east of Mysore and parts of Tamilnāḍ, Ālūpas in the west coast, Sendrakas in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, Naḷas in Bellary and Karnul districts and Punnāḍa kings in the south of Mysore. Some of these kingdoms continued for several centuries as feudatories to the suzerain powers of Karnāṭaka.

The Kadambas of Banavāsi in western Karnāṭaka come next as founders of a Kannaḍa Empire, dating from 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. The founder of this empire was a Brahmin scholar, Mayūrśarma by name, who was enraged at some ill-treatment, meted out to him in Kānci, the Pallava capital and was fired with imperial ambitions, which he had the good fortune to realise in his life-time.

His date is here taken to be c 300 A.D., though it varies from 400[1] to 200 A.D[2] according to scholars. He is described in a Candravalli inscription as having defeated the Pallavas and many other chiefs within and without Karnāṭaka.[3] He ruled over a very wide area, that included Mālva and Gaya in the north.[4] He seems to have ultimately become independent of the Pallavas though he might have been their Senāpati for some time and received the 'Paṭṭabandha Sampūjā' as a subordinate ruler in the early stages of his royal career.[5] The Empire extended its dominions gradually from Kāveri to Godāvari, occupying the central oval portion of the table-land. Kākutsavarma, the great grand-son of Mayūraśarma, is pointed out as a

---

[1] G. M. Moraes: The Kadamba Kula, p. 15 (adjoining chart); and Dineśacandra Sarkār: The Successors of the Śātavāhanas, p. 233.

[2] Govind Pai: The Genealogy and Chronology of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi (Journal of Indian History Vol. XIII, parts 1 & 2).

[3] Mysore Archæological Report 1929, p. 50; and Dr. M. H. Krishna: Karnāṭakadalliya Bhūśodhane (Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka Vol. XIV, No. 1):—

कदम्बाणं मयूरशम्मणा विणिम्मिअं ।
तटाकं दूभ (?) त्रेकूट आभीरपल्लव पारि ।
यात्रिक सकस्था (न) सयिन्दक पुणाट मोकरि (णा) ॥

[4] Kannaḍanāḍina Caritre; (Published by the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat), p. 29.

[5] Dineśacandra Sarkār: The Successors of the Śātavāhanas, pp. 239–40.

pre-eminent ruler of this dynasty, having given his daughter in marriage to the family of the renowned northern Guptas and possibly Vākāṭakas. His son, Śāntivarma, is described in a copper plate of about 450 A.D as 'the lord of the entire Kannaḍa land' (Samagra Karnāṭadeśabhūvarga-bhartāram), which shows that the Kadambas held sway over the whole of Karnāṭaka meaning most probably the Kāveri-Godāvari region.[1] The Kadamba Empire lost its glory and vanished at the rise of the powerful Cālukyas of Bādāmi, though the descendants of the dynasty continued to rule small territories at Hāngal, Gova etc. as feudatories of ruling emperors.

A kingdom, nearly contemporaneous with that of the Kadambas, is that of the Gangas of Talkād, who set up a strong bulwark against the Pallava incursion in the South. Mādhava, who is the founder of the Ganga Kingdom, is assigned to 350 A.D.[2] Some opine that he lived in 250 A.D.[3] In the long line of kings, that followed Mādhava upto the 11th century, there were such illustrious monarchs as Durvinīta, Śripuruṣa and Rācamalla, who were great supporters of Jainism as well as of Vedic culture and to whom we owe the inauguration and the spread of the Kannaḍa literary movement. But theirs was a small and unambitious kingdom probably owing to the fact that there was one empire or the other, which proved itself stronger than the Ganga regime in its time. It must, however, be said to the credit of the Ganga dynasty that the conquest

---

[1] Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VI kd 162.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao : The Gangas of Talkād, pp. 13–14.

[3] Kannaḍanāḍina Caritre, p. 31.

and the installation of a branch of its family in Kalinga and Nepāḻ along with the heroic exploits of Bhūtuga in Mālva and of Mārasinha in Gujarāt are events that brought an all-India importance to Karnāṭaka.[1] A few of the kings of this dynasty like Durvinīta and Śivamāra were noted scholars and writers in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa.

The Cālukyas of Bādāmi raised the political prestige of Karnāṭaka by their brave deeds and wide dominions and gave it a national and international status. Jayasinha was the first prince of this dynasty, who defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, and founded the Cālukya kingdom. But the influence of the Cālukyas came to be felt from the time of Pulakeśi I of 550 A.D, who routed the Pallavas and made Bādāmi his stronghold and capital. It was Pulakeśi II, of 609 - 642 A.D., the brightest luminary in the Cālukyan sky, who subdued all the powers in the south as well as the Lāta, Māḻava and the Gūrjara and obtained the imperial title of Satyāśraya Parameśvara by defeating king Harṣavardhana, the supreme lord of North India. He became the lord of three Mahārāṣṭrakas, containing 99000 villages and it was during his reign that Hieun Tsang travelled in Moholoch i. e. Mahārāṣṭra, visited his capital and wrote a vivid description of his kingdom and people. It was Pulakeśi II, who sent an embassy to Persia in the reign of Khusru II and received one from the said king, accompanied with valuable presents.[2] The power of the Cālukyas

[1] Kannaḍanāḍina Caritre, p. 34.

[2] S. Śrīkanṭhaśāstri: Sources of Karnāṭaka History Vol. I, p. 48.

gradually waned after Pulakeśi II, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas reasserted themselves.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who were longing for power long since, being a very ancient family of Karnāṭaka, got their opportunity when the Cālukya power declined. Dantidurga was the first to give a decisive blow to the Cālukyas in about the middle of the 8th century A.D. He assumed the imperial title of Rājaparameśvara after his phenomenal conquest in the South and the North. All the suppressed heroism of this line of kings surged up in high tide and such stalwarts as Kṛṣṇa I, Dhruva, Govind III, Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpatunga and Kṛṣṇa III held high in succession the banner of their dynasty in the extensive Kannaḍa land from the river Kāveri to Godāvari as defined in Kavirājamārga (I–36). The conquests of some of them in the far north are renowned in history and their fame as India's mighty heroes and rulers had spread far and wide even beyond the seas. The Arabs used to show their regard for them as Balharas (Vallabha-Ballaha)[1]. The misconception that they were other than Kannaḍa in respect of their stock and their language has now been removed by dispassionate research[2]. One of their great monarchs, Nṛpatunga was not only a patron of letters but was himself either the author or the inspirer of Kavirājamārga, the earliest available work in Kannaḍa.

The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa came to prominence in the later fifties of the 10th century A.D when Taila II put to

---

[1] Kannaḍanāḍina Caritre, p. 44

[2] A. S. Altekar: Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 21–25.

rout the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka by name (in 973 A.D) and scored a victory over the Colas, Lāṭas and Mālwas, to mention only a few names. It may be assumed that this Taila was probably a descendant of the former Cālukyas, who had been smarting under the crushing blow dealt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. This dynasty ruled over a very wide territory from the 10th to 12th century A.D and the valliant kings of this line were frequently at war with the Colas and won laurels on more than one battle-field. Someś-vara I and his son Vikramāditya VI are the most glorious scions of this line. The latter, namely Vikramā-ditya VI (1076 to 1128 A.D), became the sole emperor of the South by vanquishing all the small and big powers of the day. He founded his own era known as Vikramānka and administered the kingdom very ably and nobly. King Bijjala of the Kalacūrya family wrested the kingdom from the weak successors and ruled it for over two decades. The Cālukya Empire then broke up into two halves—Northern and Southern Karnāṭaka. In the south, the Hoysaḷas of Haḷebīḍu or Dorasamudra, who were gathering strength since the time of Vikramānka VI, built up an independent kingdom in the first decade of the 12th century. Biṭṭideva or Viṣṇuvardhana, Vīraballāḷa II are the chief Hoysaḷa kings, who extended the kingdom up to the river Kṛṣṇa and became masters of South. Roughly speaking, the country north of the Kṛṣṇa upto Gujarāt was held by the Yādavas of Devagiri, of whom Bhillama V and Sinhaṇa were very powerful kings. Frequent battles took place between the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas, resulting in a weakening of the national and the military forces of Karnāṭaka. Towards the close of the 13th

century when Karnāṭaka was disunited and practically paralysed, the Mohammedans invaded the country and in the course of a few years uprooted both the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas with lightning speed, threatening a wholesale destruction of the cultural heritage of the land. Some of the tributary princes who helped the sovereign powers in building up their empires in the south in this period were the Śilāhāras with their branches, the Rattas of Saundatti, Kadambas, Guttas, Sāntaras, without whose loyalty and heroism the continued prosperity and stability of the bigger states would have been impossible.

The Vijayanagara Empire, which was the direct result of the popular indignation at the disintegration of the South, came into being in 1336 A. D. Under the spiritual guidance of Vidyāraṇya, the Sangama princes viz. Harihara and Bukka achieved a remarkable feat in Karnāṭaka history by their bravery, skill of organization and high ideals of kingship. The diplomacy and the patriotism of Ballāḷa III, the last illustrious king of the Hoysaḷa line, was in no small measure responsible for laying the foundation of this Empire and for giving the necessary impetus and assistance to the five Sangama brothers in their bold venture. Among the kings of the four dynasties that reigned over the whole of the South upto Tungabhadrā viz. Sangama, Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Araviḍu, the most famous kings were Bukkarāya, Prouḍhadevarāya, Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Rāmarāya. Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in particular, was the most heroic, generous and diplomatic monarch, besides being a great patron of literature and a poet as well. The Empire became known to the rest of the world for its wonderful capital, its fabulous wealth and its trade,

its army and power. It crashed as a result of the battle of Rakkasa Tangaḍagi, otherwise known as the battle of Tāḻikote in 1556. But the torch of Vijayanagara was kept burning by the descendants of the Aravīḍu line for about a century.

The history of Karnāṭaka since then is a history of the spoliation of Karnāṭaka by alien powers, struggling for supremacy and eager to extend their dominions. Although the Bāmini kingdom was weakened by being split up into five dynasties, unity of religion strengthened it and brought about the downfall of Vijayanagara. The Adilśāhi kings of Bijāpur grew more powerful than their allies and held all the Kannaḍa territory, north of the Tuṇgabhadrā. The descendants of the Vijayanagara line and the other smaller states tried at times to recover lost power but without lasting results. In the south, the Oḍeyars of Mysore must be credited with a sustained attempt to re-establish Karnāṭaka rulership, though their kingdom could not spread far beyond southern Karnāṭaka. Hyder and Tipu also dominated it for a long time. With the advent of Śivāji, dawned the influence of the Marāṭhā element in Karnāṭaka; but it must be said to the credit of Cikadevarāja of Mysore that he repulsed Śivāji's forces successfully and saved Mysore from falling into his hands. But after about a century's strife with the Mohammedan forces in the field, the Peśwās succeeded in subjugating practically the whole of North Karnāṭaka towards the close of 1800 A.D. The process of the dismemberment of Karnāṭaka went on apace with the appearance on the scene of the Portuguese, the British and the French. It is needless to describe the complicated history of the 18th and 19th

centuries. We may only point out that the districts of north Karnāṭaka were annexed to British territory after the fall of the last Peśwa, Bājirao II. Those portions of south Karnāṭaka, which are now British, had been annexed earlier. It is important to note that the Kannaḍa country, with the exception of Mysore, lost its Kannaḍa character as a unit, being exposed to the influences of alien Governments and alien cultures like the Mohammedan, the Marāṭhā, the Portuguese and the English. Karnāṭaka thus suffered continuous mishandling during the last two centuries and it, therefore, stands today seriously dismembered and awkwardly administered. Geographically, it may be observed that the larger Karnāṭaka of the earlier days, which was roughly defined as the Kāveri-Godāvari region [1], gradually dwindled into smaller dimensions as a consequence of the impact of other languages and cultures, chiefly in the north-west.

CHAPTER II

The historical retrospect, given in the last chapter, shows that the political life of Karnāṭaka began very early indeed and was brilliant, though unsteady in its manifestation. We shall now Proceed to study it under three subheads viz. 1. Martial, 2. Administrative and 3. Civic.

---

[1] The region noted above may have been wider still on account of certain vestiges of Kannaḍa still perceptible in the region to the north of Godāvari as pointed out by Mr. S. B. Joshi in his book called 'Kaṇmareyāda Kannaḍa'. It is a matter that deserves to be investigated in a scientific spirit by students of Karanāṭaka history.

The martial spirit is one of the earliest and the most powerful national traits of the Kannaḍa people. Originally it approximated to a defensive rather than an aggressive attitude, as we pointed out in the first section. Though no such distinction could be made in its later expression, it is true that this spirit manifested itself at its best while on the defensive. It may also be added that the greater the risk involved, the better or the more forceful was its manifestation. It is solely due to the martial spirit of individual leaders and their loyal followers that small kingdoms sprang up in ancient Karnāṭaka and held their own against great odds. They were perhaps called Nāḍus, inhabited and governed by the Nāḍavar. The mention of Goparāṣṭra and Mallarāṣṭra in the MBh probably points to this fact as Rāṣṭra is the Sanskrit equivalent of Nāḍu and these Rāṣṭras may have later formed themselves into larger groups like Mahārāṣṭra or Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The following delineation of the Nāḍavar, which occurs in Kavirājamārga, is noteworthy as an apt character-sketch of the typical heroes of Karnāṭaka. "Good soldiers, poets, good kings, handsome, cultured and men of merit: men of pride, very dreadful, profound and discreet are the Nāḍavar".[1] These very qualities were responsible for building up and fostering those kingdoms, that manifested themselves through the historical period in one form or the other. There are romantic accounts of the origin of some of these kingdoms. For instance, the beginnings of the Kadamba dynasty, as we know from

[1] Kavirājamārga, 2-28.

ಸುಭಟರ್ಕಳ್ ಕವಿಗಳ್ ಸು । ಪ್ರಭುಗಳ್ ಚೆಲ್ವರ್ಕಳಭಿಜನರ್ಕಳ್ ಗುಣಿಗಳ್ ॥
ಅಭಿಮಾನಿಗಳತ್ಯುಗ್ರರ್ । ಗಭೀರಚಿತ್ತರ್ ವಿವೇಕಿಗಳ್ ನಾಡವರ್ಗಳ್ ॥

inscriptions, are well worth noticing. That a Brahmin youth like Mayūraśarma should feel the Pallava affront to the extent of founding a kingdom of his own speaks for his valour and tenacity of purpose as also for the general atmosphere of heroic self-assertion, which prevailed in Karnāṭaka from centuries past. The description of the Nāḍavar as 'men of pride, very dreadful' (Abhimānigaḻ Atyugrar) is borne out strikingly by that founder of the Kadamba house. The story about Mādhava, the earliest member of the Ganga line, that he cut a stone pillar through with a sword given by his preceptor Simhanandi, suggests the exceptional strength of the hero, though it may have been nothing more than a myth. The account of the origin of the Hoysaḻa family, which occurs in several inscriptions, that a young boy named Saḻa pounced on a tiger in a Jain temple with a mere stick or spike at the instance of his tutor, who said 'strike' (Hoy), smote it down and thus came to be called 'Hoysaḻa', is thrilling.

The same martial spirit, that raised kingdoms, sustained great empires as well. The two Cālukyan Empires and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Hoysaḻa and the Vijayanagara Empires are outstanding examples of the high capacity of the Kannaḍiga for military organisation, conquest and consolidation. It was in the teeth of stern opposition and in the face of frequent danger from hostile forces that these empires flourished, each for over 200 years. They withstood successfully the repeated attacks of the southern powers like the Pallava and the Coḻa, repelled triumphantly the northern invasions by Indian or foreign enemies and earned fame by their conquests of lands in all quarters.

In this connection, the marvellous military achievements of Pulakeśi II of the early Cālukyas call for special mention. He conquerrd all the powers of the South and became the absolute lord of the entire South, being styled 'Dakṣiṇāpatheśvara'. Again, about 620 A.D, he repelled effectively ' the attack on his dominions led in person by Harṣa, the lord paramount of the North who aspired to the sovereignty of all India.'[1] This triumph of Pulakeśi is described in detail thus: " Pulakeśi II, the greatest of the Cālukya dynasty....vied with Harṣa in the extent of his conquests and had raised himself to the rank of lord paramount of the South as Harṣa was of the North. The northern king, who could not willingly endure the existence of so powerful a rival, essayed to overthrow him, advancing in person to the attack, with ' troops from the five Indies and the best generals from all countries'. But the effort failed. The king of the Deccan guarded the passes on the Narmadā so effectively that Harṣa was constrained to retire discomfited, and to accept the river as his frontier".[2] Pulakeśi received the highest title of Parameśvara for this triumph over Harṣavardhana—a fact, which is proudly stated in several of the Cālukyan epigraphs in almost the same phrase.[3] This event in Karnāṭaka history was acclaimed in the past as the greatest feat of the valour and the military skill of an emperor of Karnāṭaka, leading a Karnāṭa army. According to the copper plate of Sāmangaḍ

---

[1] V A. Smith: The Early History of India, p. 425.

[2] Ibid, p. 340.

[3] Sakalottarāpatheśvara Śrīharṣavardhana parājayopātta parameśvara śabdah Satyāśrayaśrīpṛthvīvallabhah.

of 754 A.D, the Kannaḍa army is praised as capable of vanquishing Harṣa as well as other kings of the South and Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty is said to have defeated even such a formidable army, invincible as it was.[1] That the copper plate in question applauds Dantidurga, who defeated Kīrtivarma II, the last of the early Cālukyas, in 754 A.D. does not detract from the merit of the former Karnāṭa army of 620 A.D. The stanza only casts a reflection, if at all, on the later Cālukyan army, which had either deteriorated and therefore failed to maintain the very high military traditions of the time of Pulakeśi II or could not cope with the stronger forces of Dantidurga, which also was Karnāṭa, being the army of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In an Aihoḻe inscription of 634 A.D. exquisite punning is used to praise the exploits of Pulakeśi II in a Sanskrit stanza.[2] The stanza shows that there was universal applause for the greatest monarch of the Cālukyas.

---

[1] S. Śrīkaṇṭhaśāstri: Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I, p. 58 and I.A. Vol. XI, p. 111.

सभ्रूविभङ्गमगृहीत विधौत शस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रणिहिताभित्रमपेतयत्नात् (त्नं) ।
यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डलकेन (दण्डबलेन) जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर
तामुपैति (मवाप) ॥
काञ्चीश केरलनराधिप चोल पाण्ड्य श्रीहर्ष वज्रटविभेद विधानदक्षं ।
कर्णाटकंव(ब)लमनन्तमजेयरत्यै(थै) [मन्यैः] भृत्यैः
कियन्भिरपि (कियत्यपि) यः सहसा जिगाम (य) ॥

[2] S. Śrīkaṇṭhaśāstri: Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I, p. 41 and E. I. Vol. VI, and I.A. Vol. V, p. 67.

अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेना ।
मुकुटमणिमयूखाक्रान्त पादारविन्दः ।

This was the glorious tradition of heroism, which the kings of Karnāṭaka maintained and augmented in their own way. It was often sullied by that irresistible spirit of retaliation, which inevitably led to internal war within Karnāṭaka. The history of the alternate rise and fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas is a glaring instance of this state of affairs. All the same, one cannot offer too much praise for the heroic deeds of the kings and their armies, whose pictures flit before our minds' eye in glorious array. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, Dhruva, Govinda III and Kṛṣṇa III, who rose to high imperial status, were warriors of very great repute. About Dhruva, in particular, it is said, "he was one of the ablest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. During a short reign of about 13 years he not only re-established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ascendency in the South, which was seriously damaged by his predecessor's loose and vicious government, but made the Rāṣṭrakūṭas an all-India power. For the first time after the Āndhra occupation of portions of Northern India after a lapse of nearly nine centuries, a Deccanese force crossed the Vindhyas and entered into the very heart of Madhyadeśa, defeating each of the two rival claimants for the imperial position in the North".[1] The extent of Govinda's conquest is still more commendable since "the victorious march of his armies had literally embraced all the territory between the Himālayas and cape

---

युधिपतित गजेन्द्रानीकवि(बी)भत्सभूतो ।
भयविगळितहर्षो येन चाकारि हर्षः ॥

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 59.

Comorin. Even the king of Ceylon was terrified into submission. Never again did the prestige of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas reach this high level".[1] There may be a certain amount of exaggeration in the original eulogy, on which these statements are based but the valour and the wide scope of the conquests by the heroes concerned are truthfully indicated thereby. Kṛṣṇa III fought his decisive battle with the Co̲ḻas in Takkolam in 949 A. D. and foiled all the Co̲ḻa ambitions of expansion in Karnāṭaka. He is described as "the last able monarch in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty..... He must have been an able ruler and skilful general, otherwise his achievements would not have been possible".[2]

Vikramāditya VI of the later Cālukyas, whose life and career provided a rich theme for Bilhaṇa's historical poem; was an extraordinary personality. His undaunted valour and military talent may be best illustrated by his successful campaign against his brother and the Co̲ḻa king Rājiga, whom he had to encounter simultaneously. In the same way, Viṣṇuvardhana and Vīraballāḻa II are praised times without number by the Hoysaḻa inscriptions of their time. So also are Bhillama and Sinhaṇa of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the Vijayanagara period, the heroism of Karnāṭaka was at its noblest and highest pitch of excellence. It was a period, during which there was greater mass awakening, caused by the danger from the North. Consequently, there was greater military organisation throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. The kings utilised their resources

---

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 70.

[2] Ibid, p. 123.

to the best possible advantage and held the enemies at bay for over two hundred years. Of all the military ahievements of the Vijayanagara rulers, those of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in his siege and conquest of the fort of Raicūr stand out as a singular feat in Karnāṭaka history for the vastness of the army employed, variety of military tactics and exuberance of camp life. In an estimate of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's rule, it is stated that "His advance on Raicūr shows equal genius—the organisation being perfect to the smallest detail, including the supply of water to the troops en route and the pitching of the tents and the supply of luxuries as much as necessaries in the camp[1]." The exploits of Mysore rulers, of whom Cikadevarāja stood up valiantly against several contending forces and put them down, were quite in keeping with the Vijayanagara traditions which they were proud to continue.

The brave deeds of the feudatory princes with their forces, of generals and of amazons in the long and rich history of Karnāṭaka should also be remembered here, though a peep into details is well-nigh impossible.[2] The people of Tuḻunāḍu (coast-line Karnāṭaka), which was ruled over by the Ālupas from 600 A.D. to 1400 A.D. deserve special mention as they have been warlike in nature and habits since very ancient times. Even today communities like the Nāḍavar and Banṭa are found

[1] Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, pt. III, p. 1953.

[2] Reference may be made here to such books in Kannaḍa as 'Karnāṭaka Vīraratnagaḻu', 'Kannaḍanāḍina Kathegaḻu and 'Mincida Mahiḻeyaru', which give a sketch of some of the valiant men and women of historical Karnāṭaka.

among them as descendants of the older martial race. " The whole trend of events from early centuries of the Christian era down to the 16th century and especially the rise of an indigenous principality which rested solely on the strength of Tuḷuva arms and which lasted till the 14th century attest to the warlike nature of the Tuḷuva people in historical times.[1]"

The bravery of the Kannaḍa people as of their kings was almost proverbial in mediaeval India, since we have a number of references to the same in Sanskrit literature. The earliest mention of Karnāṭa kalaha in ' Mṛchhakaṭika ' indirectly indicates the strength of the Kannaḍa people. In ' Kathāsaritsāgara ' (c 1100 A.D.) a certain Karnāṭa hero is said to have pleased his king by his valour on the battle-field.[2] If this were a faithful rendering of the original passage in ' Guṇāḍhya's ' ' Bṛhatkathā ' the reference would be much older than it now is. In the ' Bālarāmāyaṇa Nāṭaka ' of Rājaśekhara (c 900 A.D.) the Karnāṭas are characterised as a people, possessed of manliness, that is unchecked in magnitude.[3] In the same author's ' Viddhaśālabhañjikā ', the superior military skill and the bravery of the Karnāṭas are commended.[4] We also learn

---

[1] B. A. Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, pp. 8–9.

[2] Kathāsaritsāgara, 61–323.
कर्णाटः कोऽपि भूपं स्वंरणे शौर्यादतोषयत् ।

[3] अखण्डितप्रसरा हि पुरुषकाराः कर्णाटानाम् । (Between Stanza 2 and 3– प्रस्तावना)

[4] कर्णाटो युद्धतन्त्रे चतुरतरमतिः । IV 19 ; & समरकर्मणि निसर्गोद्धता एव कार्णाटाः । IV Between 19 and 20.

that Bengal rulers used to recruit soldiers from Karnāṭa and Lāṭa.[1] The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India from 629 to 645 A.D. visited the capital of Pulakeśi II in Moholach[2] and the following description, given by him in his account, indicates very clearly the heroic

[1] A. S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 247.

[2] Opinion is divided as regards the identity of the capital of Pulakeśi II, visited by Hiuen Tsiang. It is clear from the inscriptions that the capital of this Pulakeśi was Bādāmi and it is also said that "In 634 A.D. he entered the capital Vātāpi" and "In 638–39 A.D." Yuvan-chwang travelled through Konkaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra (Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I, p. xiii). If the dates were correct, the capital, visited by the Chinese pilgrim, could be no other than Bādāmi. But the site and the surroundings of Bādāmi as well as its distance from Broach are different from those described by the said traveller. "Scholars, therefore, now generally agree with the view of Fleet that the town in question is Nāsik,—about 128 miles to the South-east of Broach. Fleet seems to be right when he suggests: 'we have, therefore, to look for some subordinate but important town, far to the north of Bādāmi, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hiuen Tsiang—most probably because it was the basis of the operations against Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, and because in connection with these operations, Pulakeśi II happened to be there at the time'" (Bomb. Gaz, I pt II, p. 355; and Dineśacandra Sarkār: The successors of the Śātavāhanas in lower Deccan, p. 47–48 f.n.). Even if this view is taken as

temperament of the Kannaḍa people of that period. "The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. ....When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions, to the number of several hundreds. .... The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms."[1]

Thus the heroism of the Kannaḍa people and their kings as manifested in the diverse history of well over two thousand years is highly commendable for its brilliance and power of effective resistance. The variety of political life that found expression in the rise of several kingdoms and empires is a very unique feature of Karnāṭaka in the history of India. India is a land of heroes and every part of India is redolent with memories of a heroic past. But it seems to us that it is a peculiar feature of Karnāṭaka that it has had a continual, varied and dynamic past with a reputation for heroism and military skill, that is hardly equalled by that of any other province. From kingdom to kingdom and from empire to empire, the national energy of the Kannaḍigas was organis-

---

correct, the description given above must refer to the people of the then larger Karnāṭaka, about which we have spoken before.

[1] Fleet: The dynasties of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay presidency, pp. 24–25; and Thomas Watters: On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Vol. II, pp. 239–40.

ed better and better and harnessed to the realisation of the best ideals of the state. The acme of perfection was reached in the Vijayanagara Empire when the whole Kannaḍa country along with its southern neighbours built up a strong bulwark against foreign invasion. It was a very critical time in Indian history when practically the whole of North India was under non-Hindu rule and the South was also overrun, all the chief kings being put to rout. The Vijayanagara Empire came into being and saved India and Indian culture from real peril. It was this Empire, which, though it fell, inspired Śivāji to found the Marāṭha Empire and to continue the traditions of Hinduism in the South. The contribution of Karnāṭaka to India lies, therefore, in the rich and high heroic tradition, which, as time went on, stood for the highest ideals and considered no sacrifice too great in the loyal discharge of duty. It is true that the ideals for which the people fought and laid down their lives were at times nothing more than the personal ambitions of a king for conquest or possession. That is an inevitable evil in the race of life where the survival of the fittest is the principle that very often governs human conduct. But once a kingdom was won or an empire built up, the great kings of Karnāṭaka called forth the heroic energies of their subjects for the preservation of their religion and culture. The Vijayanagara Empire was on a higher plane than the others, since, during the period both of its inception and growth, the best ideals of the kings were the same as those of the country. The Empire came into existence not for the fulfilment of personal ambition but for the preservation of Indian culture in the South and strove to pursue that goal till the end. Though the

Empire did not last for more than two hundred years in full bloom, the lasting effects of its achievement are still to be seen in the life of the people and in the cultural relics of the land. The patent fact that the South of India was comparatively more free from fear of alien invasion or influence than the North is due in no small measure to the Vijayanagara Empire. Therefore, Vijayanagara, which represents the most exalted attainments of the Kannaḍiga, is the greatest gift of Karnāṭaka to India. We are not here unmindful of the part played by the Telugu and Tamiḻ people in the organisation of Vijayanagara as an Empire of the South. But it cannot be denied that the Empire is essentially Kannaḍa from its very foundation to its heyday of glory.

The long line of kings and emperors of Karnāṭaka is a matter of great pride in itself. Karnāṭaka has reasons to be proud of those towering personalities, who, by their conquests and kingly virtues, achieved an all-India reputation. Of these, Pulakeśi II has been already referred to as a monarch, who could repulse Harṣavardhana. It is no exaggeration to say that Pulakeśi II, Vikramāditya VI and Kṛṣṇadevarāya were emperors of such high standing that they can only be classed with Aśoka, Candragupta and Harṣa of North India. There were other kings like Dhruva and Govinda of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose daring exploits in the North place them very high in our estimate. Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpatunga was a king of the same dynasty. He was more of a 'philosopher king' and was renowned even outside India. "Sulaimān, the Arab merchant who travelled in Western India in the middle of the 9th century, knew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign

by his title of Balharā, a corruption of Vallabha Rāi, and states that he was acknowledged not only as the most eminent of the princes of India, but also as the fourth of the great monarchs of the world, the other three being the Khalif (caliph) of Baghdad, the Emperor of China and the Emperor of Rūm or Constantinople[1] ".

It is also worthy of note how the Karnāṭaka heroes founded royal houses outside Karnāṭaka and left the impress of their valour and political talent over Northern India upto Nepāl. As has been briefly put, " the Nepāl royal family of Nānyadeva is of Karnāṭaka origin. The Senas of Bengal trace their descent from Sāmantasena, a Karnāṭaka feudatory born in the family of Vīrasena, a Brahmakṣatra (E. I. Vol. I, p. 300 ; JASB V, p 467 [2]). The Gahadawalas of Kanauj trace their descent from Nandapāla

[1] V. A. Smith : The Oxford History of India, p. 201.

[2] cf. Dineśacandra Sarkār's article on Vāsudeva Image Inscription, p. 415 (Indian Culture, Vol. VII, No. 4), wherein he shows that " the Senas—originally belonged to Karnāṭa ". He says, " This is not only proved by the typical Kanarese name of Ballāḷasena but also by explicit statements in the Sena inscriptions. Vīrasena, the ancestor of the Sena dynasty, was a Dākṣiṇātya Kṣouṇīndra. .... According to Deopārā inscription, the glory of Sāmantasena, born in the family of Vīrasena, was sung about the bridge i.e. Setubandha Rāmeśvara. ....He has also been described as a Karnāṭa Kṣatriya and as a punisher of the enemies of the Karnāṭa Lakṣmi. This apparently indicates that he came into the East in the train of the Western Cālukya army. "

who became a king of Karnāṭa. The Rāṭhoḍs of Jodhpur and Bikaner were also the descendants of Karnāṭaka rulers (cf. Nayasūri's Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭaka). The Gangas and Kadambas of Kalinga similarly trace their descent from the Gangas and Kadambas of Karnāṭaka. The Bārbhujya Rājas of East Bengal come from Karnāṭa[1]".

Karnāṭaka has also made its contribution to the overseas expansion of India by conquest and colonisation. Some of the evidence on the subject may be culled from a survey of Greater Indian Research by Mr. U. N. Ghosal.[2] Reference may be made here to a certain kingdom, founded in the Malaya islands. About the middle of the 8th century A.D. a young Ganga prince is said to have migrated to the Malaya islands along with his brothers and his retinue and settled down as a king over there. His name occurs in the Indian inscriptions there as Śailendra and the river, through which he passed, is known as Girirāṣṭra even today. Sulaiman, the Arab trader, has given a full account of the bravery and magnanimity of Śailendra, whom he calls king Zabag.[3] The Ganga kings of Mysore were kings of Karnāṭaka, who stood mainly for the propagation of the Jain religion through the Kannaḍa language and if Śailendra were a member of the Ganga royal house, he must have been a Kannaḍa hero, who went

[1] S. Śrīkaṇṭhaśāstri: Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I, Intro., p. xxvi.

[2] Progress of Indic Studies, BORI, pp. 272–3, 274–5, 281–2, 293, 296, 307, 314–5.

[3] H. G. Quaritch Wales: Towards Angkor, Ch. XI, pp. 169–171, 175–8.

abroad in search of adventure and carvėd out his own royal career in the Malaya islands.[1]

CHAPTER III

We have dealt so for with the heroic traits of Kannaḍigas as a people, culminating in their kings and emperors and pointed out their contribution to India. It would now be interesting to study the presence of these very qualities in individual heroes — common to every village and town —, reference to whom abound in the inscriptional heritage of the province. This study will lead us to recognise certain features of the political culture which was characteristic of the Kannaḍa land. In the section on ancient Karnāṭaka, it was suggested that cattle raids were a great source of trouble in almost every village in Karnāṭaka. We come across numerous inscriptions, in which the village hero, killed in the skirmishes, consequent

[1] It may be noted that different views are held regarding the identification of Śailendra. (cf D. R. Chatterji: History of Cambodia Jāva and R. C. Mujumdar: Suvarṇadvīpa. Read also 'Greater Indian Research' by U. N. Ghosal in 'Progress of Indic Studies', p. 315). If the Śailendras were immigrants from the Kalinga country according to some, it is still possible that they might have been of Karnāṭa origin as the Ganga kings of Kalinga owed their descent to the Gangas of Karnāṭaka.

on these raids, has been praised for his skill in single-handed fight, unaided by an army. It was mostly at the dead of night that thieves crept into a village and lifted the cattle. As soon as the theft was known, the headman of the village would call together all the young heroes and offer them an opportunity to show their mettle. Any one of them, who accepted the offer, was either to return with the cattle or be killed in the battle. Most often the practice was to place vīḻya i.e. betel pan in a tray and ask the hero to take it, in order to signify his readiness to offer his services in the cause of the village[1]. This practice might have also prevailed in bigger battles where the general used to choose a hero in this way when he feared he was losing ground on the battle-field. Reference may be made to some of the heroes, who died fighting in cattle raids, like Caṭṭanāyaka,[2] Gaṭṭayya,[3] Ketamalla,[4] Ciṇṇayya[5] and Desunāyaka.[6] Very vivid descriptions of their deeds are given in the poetical portion of these inscriptions. For instance, we are told that "Paṭṭasāhani Ciṇṇa, on learning the news that the Beḍas of Mādanabāg stormed the village and ran away with lifted cattle, was all wrath like the God of death and pursued them quickly. Overtaking the army of the Beḍas, he battered them to death, gave a feast of the foe to the vultures and got back the cattle".[7] The vigour of the heroic style used therein, it is hardly possible to bring out in translation. In some cases,

[1] E. C. VIII, sa 84, 86. [2] E. C. VII, hl 35. [3] Ibid, hl 37. [4] Ibid, V cn 205. [5] Ibid, VII, hl 48. [6] Ibid, VIII, sa 140. [7] Ibid, VII, hl 48 and R. Narasimhācārya: Śāsanapadyamañjari, P 215.

the heroes are described as having fought with thieves generally without the context to the cattle lifting, as in the case of Helliga [1]. There are, a large number of records, extolling those warriors, who fought bravely in actual battle and attained Vīrasvarga i.e., the heroe's heaven accroding to ancient belief, such as Kallayanāyaka, [2] Kalirāya [3] and Bammusānta [4]. It was either a duel, the siege of a fort or an open encounter on the field during which such warriors excelled themselves in fight, regardless of their lives. It must have been individuals like those mentioned, who were to be found in every village and town and who made up the invincible Karnāṭa army of the past. The tradition of such warriors continued with increasing zeal owing to the fact that the kings and leaders of the community all over the Kannaḍa country encouraged and patronised the same. True valour always received due recognition in the form of titles and ornaments for the arm and the ankle like the Paṭṭa, Toḷabandi, Toḍaru and Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra [5]. It was strongly believed that death in battle was no death, but a means of attaining heaven. The death of a hero was commemorated by a memorial stone known as 'Vīragallu' (i.e., the hero-stone) wherein this belief was given a concrete form by both poet and sculptor. The inscriptions that we referred to as describing the heroes are all to be found on the hero-stones, which perpetuate their memory. The poet contributed to the living culture of the land by pouring forth sincere praise

[1] E. C. VII, sk 150. [2] Ibid, VII, hl 51. [3] Ibid, V, bl 202. [4] Ibid, VII, sb 141. [5] B.L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 189.

in vivid and vigorous language — the language of the hero himself. The sculptor played his own part not only by inscribing the poet's composition but also by carving figures in stone, that kept the memory of the hero alive. The 'Vīragallu' is a long wide slab of stone, on which, besides the inscription, there is a certain form of the memorial, which characterises it all over Karnāṭaka. The stone is rectangular, with an arch at the top. On it there are three to five panels of carving from bottom to top. When there are three panels only, the hero is seen fighting on the field either on horse-back or on foot in the panel at the bottom. The one above it depicts him as being carried in a palanquin to heaven by the heavenly damsels and in the third he is shown as having merged in God who is, sometimes represented in the form of a Linga. Slight variations apart, the hero-stone possesses these common features, by which it can easily be recognised from a 'Māstikallu' i. e. a stone with singular sculpture that commemorates a Māsti or a devoted wife, who gives up her life in order to be near her dead husband, or from a 'Nisidigallu, where the memory of a Jaina ascetic or layman, who fasts unto death, is perpetuated. It is not uncommon in India or elsewhere in the world to erect memorials to heroes, who sacrifice their lives for their country or province. But the profusion and the peculiar form of the memorial stones are a unique trait in Karnāṭaka, along with a few details of warfare like the picking up of the betel pan (Vīḻya ettuvudu) to signify one's readiness to give battle at the cost of one's life[1] or

[1] It has been suggested that Vīragals are also found in Bengal and Rājaputāna; but it must be investigated

the giving of betel leaves to a hero singled out on the eve of battle by the king or the commander. The recognition of valour, which took one form or the other, is peculiar to the highly appreciative Kannaḍiga of all times. We learn from the inscriptions that after the death of a hero, rich gifts of lands were made in many cases to the bereaved members of the family to whom the community owed this gesture as a duty. Such gifts were severally known as Bāḻgaḻcu, Kalnāḍu, Śivane, Koḍagi or Nettara-koḍagi.[1] It was the sense of security fostered by such noble traditions, that prompted the heroes of Karnāṭaka to offer their all-in-all to the service of their country. This kind of heroism and self-sacrifice gave rise to hero-worship, which attained its fantastic zenith in the erection of temples in many villages of Karnāṭaka where the village hero was and is being worshipped as Bīroba, Bīra or Vīrappa. In the Kannaḍa districts of Kārwār and Mangalore in particular, the images of dead heroes hewn on stone and sometimes carved in wood are worshipped as deities even today.[2]

In close association with this martial spirit, we notice the spirit of self-sacrifice and loyalty to the leader and the lord. Without the latter spirit, the military discipline of the Karnāṭaka army would have been well-nigh

---

whether they are similar to those found in Karnāṭaka in form and content or otherwise.

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 171.

[2] Annual Report on Kannaḍa Research in Bombay Province for the year 1939-40, published by Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar, pp 28-9.

impossible. In defensive warfare, in particular, when the prestige of the king and country was at stake, the Kannaḍa soldiers must have shown amazing loyalty to the commander of the army and the ruler of the kingdom. One of the ways in which this loyalty found expression may be observed in the institution of 'Garuḍas' or bodyguards of the king. The 'Garuḍas' who were appointed by the king for lifelong service under him, had to swear allegiance to him in life and death. They were not merely to serve as bodyguards but to identify themselves with the very life and aspirations of their overlord. It seems that in making a selection of these Garuḍas, persons, intimately known to the king and tried and tested by him for implicit devotion, were preferred to the rest. This naturally gave rise to hero-worship and to a highly sentimental attachment for the king. None can deny the good results it yielded on the battle-field and in the defence organisation of the kingdom. The accredited bodyguards displayed their valour, reckless of their own lives, in defence of the king and country. We meet with examples of their loyalty, which may appear to us today as acts of excessive hero-worship. From the time of the Gangas till the Vijayanagara period, we come across instances of bodyguards putting an end to their own lives, at the death of their lord. Two heroes, Rāceya and Babiyamma burnt themselves in fire after the death of the Ganga prince Nītimārga Rācamalla[1] and "his Mane-magattin or major domo became Kilgunṭhe under him....was buried under

[1] E. C. V, ag 5, 27.

him, probably alive, in the same grave".[1] One Śambhu burnt himself with spontaneous zeal at the death of king Parahita according to the vow, which he had taken.[2] The most outstanding example is that of one Kuvaralakṣma, the general, minister and the most trusted guard of Vīraballāḷa II of the Hoysaḷas, who is said to have killed himself along with his wife and a retinue of 1000 soldiers as soon as his lord died. The record that describes the most intimate relations between Kuvaralakṣma and Vīraballāḷa and also speaks of their end is one of the best poetical pieces in inscriptional literature in Kannaḍa.[3] One Sāmanta Singeyanāyaka followed his Hoysaḷa king Narasimha III in death along with his wife and servants.[4] The procedure of a vow, taken by devoted officers of this category, has been described by Abu Zaid as having reference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period: "At the time of the coronation of a king, his deeply attached followers used to take voluntarily a portion of the rice prepared for the king on the occasion. All such persons were obliged to burn themselves when the king was dead or slain"[5]. All this is something like a male form of the female practice of self-immolation, evident in "Sati" or "Sahagamana". But this was not peculiar to Karnāṭaka since "many cases are recorded in the Kāśmīr Chronicle of loyal and devoted officers burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their dead masters......The custom

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 186. [2] I.A. XX, 69 and R. Narasimhācārya: Śāsanapadyamañjari, pp. 2-3. [3] E. C. V, Bl 112. [4] E. C. IV, kr 10. [5] A. S. Āltekar: Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 186.

existed in Malbar during the 13th century, for it is referred to by Marco Polo also".[1] There is no doubt, however, that the cheap disposal of human life in this manner was very much prevalent in the Kannaḍa country and is certainly uncanny and uncalled for. But the wierd practice was not altogether without its sentimental and practical value. The utter self-effacement of the life-guard in the service of his lord made him so desolate and sorrow-stricken after the demise of the latter that death was regarded as happier than life. And further, the life and honour of the guard could not be safe after the decease of his master, in whose service he was likely to have made dreadful enemies. They were of individual power, in the absence of which all persons dependent on a certain powerful individual like the king would be stranded and become liable to affront and attack. Though this analysis might explain the origin of this practice, it may have mostly prevailed in later times as a blind convention, having almost a religious import, though the actual circumstances were not always very compelling. An analysis of the Sati system would tell the same tale.

There was another channel, through which the spirit of self-sacrifice expressed itself viz. the fulfilment of a given pormise. Loyalty and truthfulness combined to demand self-sacrifice from the hero-worshipper without compulsion of any kind. As Rice puts it, "Vows of self-destruction were not confined to execution on the death of patrons. They were also entered into for the purpose of securing the accomplishment of some cherished desire. In these cases

[1] A. S. Āltekar: Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 186.

beheading seems to have been the usual method of despatch. In about 991, we are told (Sb. 479) that a man, vowed to give his head to a goddess at Hayve in order that the king Śāntivarma might have a son. His wish having been obtained, he surrendered himself to the soldiers and was beheaded. ....In 1180 a chief gave his head in order that the army to which he belonged might be victorious in the war to which it was marching (Gd. 41). In 1185 a man who had taken a vow that he would die with the queen at her decease was reminded of it by her husband, and instantly gave himself up to be beheaded (Sk 249), for, as the inscription says, a word spoken with full resolve must not be broken".[1] Whatever the actual episodes, illustrating self-destruction, it is of great importance to note the sound moral sense of the Kannadiga in keeping a given word familiarly known in Kannada as "Bhāṣe".[2] It is a national trait and it has permeated their cultural being and mainfested itself in many of their deeds. The examples given above are only to be treated as extreme cases of that manifestation.

In the Vijayanagara age, self-immolation was in vogue as before. But it was getting less and less popular with men whereas in the case of women, the practice of Sati

---

[1] E. C. VII, sk 249. "ಕಟ್ಟ್ಯಾಯುದ ಭಾಷೆಯು ನುಡಿ ಕೆಟ್ಟುದು". & B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscricptions, pp, 186-7.

[2] Words like Jolada Pāli or Jolavāli, Velevākya and Velevāli, current in Kannada since the time of the earliest available literature, connote the same sense of duty, loyalty and truthfulness.

was rampant. The loyalty and the devotion of the people, however, took a more refined and desirable turn in this age, during which their solicitude for the well-being of the king and consequently for the prosperity of the country was often expressed by a grant of lands "for the merit of the king[1]". It was a period of high tension when the independence of the whole country, with all its heritage, was in jeopardy. The people offered their prayers to the Almighty that their country might be saved from annihilation, by the efforts of their beloved king—the king of Vijayanagara. The culture of the Kannaḍiga thus showed a definite progress in times of national crisis, loyalty and patriotism being blended with each other. We are told that "Monarchs as well as their Viceroys were held in great esteem by the people. Virūpa Rāya, son of the king Bukkarāya, was, as we have seen, the Viceroy over Āraga Eighteen Kampaṇa in A. D. 1367. "In order that Virūpa Rāya might have a firm kingdom", the (people) of the Fifty Nāḍs....made a grant of land (specified) in Bandigaṇali village for the offerings of the God Śankara obviously of the same locality".[2] And again "The various merchants of Māmbaḻḻi......' in A. D. 1428, agreed to pay one gadyāṇa for every loom.... for the expense of the god Vaidyanātha of Māmbaḻḻi.... ...."in order that he (Deva Rāya) might obtain

[1] Though such records are found in earlier times also, it may be said that they are much in evidence in the Vijayanagara period.

[2] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. II, p. 272.

universal dominion".[1] These are only a few out of the numerous epigraphs, instancing the ardent feelings of the people for their king and country. The two instances, cited above, reveal in particular the admirable sense of collective charity and united action. There are several examples of individual charity also for the same noble purpose, which have not been adduced here. The vast machinery of the Vijayanagara Empire was sustained by the perfect good-will and the solid support of the subjects. During this period, the culture of Karnāṭaka made a further advance from previous history in the complete identification of the people with their king and country by an unstinted offer of all their resources for the building up of a big empire. The contribution of Karnāṭaka to Indian culture in this aspect of its political life lies in the progressive realisation by the people of this perfect identity, by being attuned to the needs of the age and by making an absolute offer of help for the fulfilment of these needs. The national traits of self-sacrifice, loyalty and truthfulness, that we have described, clearly lead us to this conclusion, in spite of the exaggerated forms, in which these qualities manifested themselves occasionally.

CHAPTER IV

While dealing with the the subject of heroism, we have noted in what high esteem the Karnāṭa army was held and what laurels it won on the battle-field. It is now

[1] Ibid, p. 273.

intended to refer to certain features of army organisation in historical times, including the technique of warfare. It must be admitted at the outset that the details available on the subject are insufficient to complete the picture, though we are in possession of fuller information regarding the Vijayanagara army. The four components of the army known as Caturanga in ancient India viz., foot, horse, elephant and chariot, must have been common in ancient Karnāṭaka and in the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] The use of the chariot in the later period is doubtful since it is conspicuous by its absence in the carvings on hero-stones, though it is prominently to be seen in temple sculptures. It is very likely that the drawing of the chariots in the friezes of temples in Karnāṭka, chiefly in the Hoysaḷa period, may have been based on the description in the epics rather than on actual observation. Hiuen Tsiang, who described the Cālukyan army in some detail, refers to elephants but not to chariots. From his statement that "The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kidgdoms",[2] it appears that infantry and elephants formed the most prominent and powerful components of the Karnāṭaka army. "The fifth arm, the camel, is mentioned in a Hoysaḷa inscription of 1262"[3] and it is guessed that this feature was imported from the North by the Yādavas and copied by the Kar-

[1] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 280.

[2] Fleet: The Dynasties of the Kanarese Dists. of the Bombay Presidency, p. 25.

[3] G. M. Moraes: Kadambakula, p. 279; and Riçe: Mysore Inscriptions, p. 272.

nāṭaka rulers from the former. "Another important arm that was used by the Kadambas of Goa was the fleet. It was employed with great advantage for the conquest of islands and lands that could be reached by sea."[1] The Vijayanagara army was made up of six parts, viz., infantry, cavalry, elephants and artillery which included chariots or carts (for the transport of cannon), camels, and bulls.[2] "The Vijayanagara rulers, therefore, unintentionally followed the mediæval precept of Śukra rather than the classical injunctions which restricted the forces to the four well-known names".[3] This is clearly an advance on and a contribution to the army organisation of India. The strength of the army was enormous and astonishing in the Vijayanagara period as compared to the earlier periods. The figures, given by the travellers and chroniclers, of the Vijayanagara army in all its components, are staggering indeed.[4] They go to show to what high degree the country was organised for military purposes unlike anywhere else in India during the later mediæval period. They can only be compared to the figures obtainable about the Maurya and Gupta armies in pre-mediæval India.[5]

The traditions of army organisation in regard to the officers, training and equipment set up in ancient India

---

[1] G.M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 281; and Fleet: Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa (J. B. B. R. A. S. IX, p. 307); and E. I. XIII, p. 309.

[2] & [3] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 421.

[4] Ibid, pp. 414–419.

[5] V. A. Smith: The Oxford History of India, p. 82.

have more or less influenced later epochs of Indian history, though variations are met with in certain details. This applies to the Karnāṭa army weil. We shall refer to some of the variations in the army organisation of Karnāṭaka for purposes of this study. The commander-in-chief was called 'Senādhipati' or more commonly 'Daṇḍanāyaka,' shortened later into Daṇṇāyaka, "denoting both military and civil rank[1], so that the general of the army was usually the minister of the state (Mahāpradhāna) and sometimes Sāmantādhipati 'implying control over feudatory chiefs"[2] also. That he was called a plenipotentiary (Sarvādhikāri) also indicates how he was invested with absolute powers in civil and military administration. But this kind of dictatorship must have been more essential in times of war. In the Vijayanagara period, the general was called 'Daṇṇāyaka' as before and the following were his insignia: 'a triumphal banner of Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa, a costly red cloth with golden flowers worked upon it, a Turāyi or tiara, an elephant, a costly horse, a necklace called 'Vīramalahāri', a square-piece pendant on the breast known as 'Tāḻicaukaṭṭu (?)', pearl-bangles, an anklet called 'Gaṇḍapeṇḍāram' and a sword ornamented with a tassel at the hilt.[3] Some of these insignia may have been borrowed from the earlier Hoysaḷa tradition. In all the important kingdoms of Karnāṭaka, there must have been a

---

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 170.

[2] Ibid.

[3] B. A. Saletore: The Social and Political Life n the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 434.

military department with an efficient system of minor officials, holding their own portfolios. Similarly, "there was a centralised military department in Vijayanagara with its rules and customs, its gradation of officers and a large staff of persons, whose services were indispensable during a campaign".[1] It may be noted here that the said military department in Vijayanagara was known as 'Kandācāra' which very probably is a corruption of 'Skandāvāra' in Kannaḍa. Some features of the Vijayanagara army have been pointed out as characterising the army life of the period. Firstly, there was the annual military review held at the close of the great Mahānavami festival. "During its course, the king examined the troops in company with an image, which was obviously carried in a palanquin."[2] The Second feature was the incitement of soldiers to action through discourses and speeches, though it was not "an invention of the Vijayanagara monarchs."[3] The third feature was "the encouragement given to the soldiers by the king who presented to them precious ornaments and bestowed on them the unique distinction of betel leaf and nut at the royal hands".[4] A reference has already been made to this unique feature of the Kannaḍa country. We have it corroborated here in the following statement: "The traditional custom of permitting soldiers and generals to accept betel leaf at the royal hands was

[1] Ibid, p. 496.

[2] B. A. Saletore: The Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, pp. 443-4.

[3] Ibid, p. 446.

[4] Ibid, p. 447.

common in southern India since early times. It does not figure in the Arthaśāstra nor is it mentioned in the Śukranīti. .... One may venture to suggest that this particular custom may have originated in the South". [1] The technique of warfare in historical Karnāṭaka marks a definite progress from simple ways to highly complex methods of fighting. The simplest form was the open encounter on the battle-field with the aid of the three or four constituents of the army. The arms used then must have been the sword with the shield, spears, bows and arrows, In course of time, a knowledge of 'Vyūha' or array seems to have been common as 'an inscription dated A.D. 982 found at Śravaṇa Beḻgoḻa, mentions this kind of battle array exactly as it has been described in the classical and mediæval codes". [2] "The epigraph further enlightens us on the two kinds of fighting known to the people of Karnāṭaka - the defence called 'Oḻasādhaka'

---

[1] Ibid, p. 448. It is pointed by a learned critic that this custom prevails among Rajputs also. It remains to be seen in what form it obtains among them and whether it is originally theirs.

[2] Ibid, p. 458 and E. C. II, sb. 133. It should be remembered that in the inscriptions S. B. 133, the reference to Cakravyūha occurs in the course of a detailed description of the skill, displayed by Indrarāja in a game of ball (Kandukāgama) and does not appear to denote battle array in the context, though it may imply its existence in the technique of warfare in those days. The inscription deserves to be studied and interpreted with greater precision.

and the attack called 'Hora-sādhaka'.[1] *One should not however, forget that these phrases are not used in the epigraph, though it is possible to conceive them by implication.* More weapons came to be used as the mention of 'Aśani–sannāha' (fire arms of some sort) suggests. The Complexity of the technique may be seen at its highest in the Vijayanagara army with its stupendous forces, varied weapons, including cannon and finished manoeuvres. The Rāicūr campaign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya is a very striking illustration of the same.

The construction of forts and the organisation of of defence therein were known to Karnāṭaka from very early times. In the epigraphs and the poetical works of Kannaḍa authors, we come across very graphic and forceful descriptions of what are called 'Koṭegāḷaga' i.e., fortress battles. They reveal certain features, peculiar to Karnāṭaka in point of strategy and terminology. A fairly detailed study of this subject, based on references in Kannaḍa poetry alone, has been made by Mr. Kṛṣṇaśarma Beṭageri in his book on Karnāṭaka Janajīvana. The references therein to Paḍigonṭe and Naḍegonṭe Taḻi, Muḻuveli and Meruve are specially interesting of a contribution to the technique of warfare".[2] Various weapons, bearing Kannaḍa names, have been pointed out like 'ḍenkaṇi' and

[1] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 458.

[2] Kṛṣṇaśarma Beṭageri: Karnāṭaka Janajīvana, pp. 27 30.

The meaning of all these terms is not yet quite clear. Mr. Beṭageri says that 'Paḍigonṭe' is the same as 'Prati-

'maruḻgai', peculiar to the Kannaḍa arms. The main gate of the fort was called 'hulimoga' i.e., tiger's mouth. Boiling oil (bīsi eṇṇe) and other deadly preparations were cast on the enemy from the top of the forts. It appears that serpants were caught and stored in boxes to be released on the opponent during the siege by the device called " Hāvina Heḻige ". These are but a few illustrations from the large number of references, available in this respect.

Summing up this treatment of the martial culture of Karnāṭaka, we can confidently say that this province has in the past lived a worthy and heroic life and has some innovations to its credit, that may be counted as a definite contribution to Indian culture.

CHAPTER V

Turning now to the administrative aspect of the political life in Karnāṭaka, we naturally find that the king is the very centre of the administration. We have seen that in early times Karnāṭaka consisted of small, independent

---

durga i. e. an artificial or improvised fort; it acquired the name 'Meruve' in later times. Naḍegote, according to him, might be a sort of fence like 'Tāḻi' and 'Muḻuveli' (thorny fence). It is also suggested by a learned friend that 'Paḍegoṇṭe and 'Naḍegoṇṭe' referred to army camps resembling a fort, 'Paḍe' meaning army and 'Naḍe' infantry.

kingdoms, built up by the heroic sons of the soil. Empires came into existence since the time of the Śātavāhanas in the vast Kannaḍa country. But emperors did not wipe out the small kingdoms, that existed in their time, although they brought them under their hegemony. However, it was natural for the feudatory kings of these empires to cherish their own ambitions of independence and expansion. They were at times disgruntled and were prepared for self-assertion, though they showed some kind of genuine allegiance to the paramount power. The history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Cālukyas of Badāmi and Kalyāṇa and of the Kalacūris may be noted as illustrating this position regarding political relations. In the absence of an empire, Karnāṭaka used to be distributed severally between independent kingdoms, each striving to extend its dominions and increase its power. When, however, an empire arose under an able and powerful monarch, there was a large area of conquest under unitary control along with the feudal territories, maintaining varied relations with the imperial government though generally having internal autonomy. As we have seen, this kind of imperial system was continuous in Karnāṭaka from at least the Cālukyan period to the close of the Vijayanagara age with the possible exception of the Hoysaḷa period, for the Hoysaḷa Empire had to contend with the equal forces of the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Vijayanagara Empire had a distinguishing feature in that it was brought into being with the very lofty motive of protecting the best heritage of South India against the onslaughts of the non-Hindu power, that came from the North. The feudatory princes of the time, who were faced with a common danger, not only paid voluntary allegiance

to the Vijayanagara Empire but welcomed its advent and assisted its growth, barring, of course, minor frictions occurring now and then. Therefore, in the matter of political administration, the peculiar contribution of Karnāṭaka may be said to be the gradual growth of an imperialist state, strengthened by the voluntary allegiance of vassals, who were independent in their own sphere, and fostered by the good-will and co-operation of the subjects under direct control. This achievement of harmony in spite of the complex machinery of government attained its zenith in the golden age of Vijayanagara, though it was ocassionally visible in the benevolent rule of emperors like Pulakeśi II, Vikramāditya VI and Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpatunga in the previous centuries. The empires of Aśoka and Harṣa in North India were of a similar type. But they were creations of personal valour and greatness like those of the early emperors of Karnāṭaka. The empire of Aśoka was, of course, inspired by high ideals of Buddhistic conception. But the Vijayanagara Empire was unique in its supreme ideal of genuine patronage and tolerance extended to all castes and creeds, being based on the best traditions of the Vedic and non-Vedic religions of Karnāṭaka.

It is clear that the system of government during all periods of Karnāṭaka history was monarchical and the king or emperor was the supreme head of the State with absolute powers of sovereignty. That did not mean that the rule was always autocratic or despotic. The sovereignty of the king, as in all Hindu kingdoms of India, was restricted in theory and practice by the laws and conventions of the State as well as by social and religious obligations to the people. The highest duty of the king

was always emphasised as the protection of the good and the punishment of the wicked. As early as 700 A.D. a Kannaḍa epigraph of Badāmi has drawn the sketch of a hero as good to the good, sweet to the sweet but deadly to the foe.[1] Another warrior in the Ālupa reign of c 900 A. D. is described to have been "beloved by the good and shunned by the wicked" (Sādhupriyan Asādhuvarjitan).[2] The Kṣatriya ideals of valour, veracity, charity and forgiveness (Śourya, satya, dāna and kṣamā) are repeatedly upheld in innumerable inscriptions. Kings, vassals, generals and even village chiefs are praised times without number for translating these ideals into practice. Thus it was in keeping with Aryan culture that every effort was made to render monarchy benevolent and to make the administration efficient and popular. In the pursuit of this ideal, however, it may be observed that, except in times of war, the sovereignty of the king along with the council of ministers was normally limited by a greater concession of freedom to the people and a greater devolution of power to representative assemblies and the like. Though this is a general feature of benevolent administration in India from ancient times, the whole of the South and in particular, Karnāṭaka appear to have contributed to a greater degree than the North to the introduction of the democratic element in the system of government. Evidence will be cited later in proof of this generalisation.

---

[1] R. Narsimhācārya : Śāsanapadyamañjari, p. 2.
ಸಾಧುಗೆ ಸಾಧು ಮಾಧುರ್ಯ್ಯಂಗೆ ಮಾಧುರ್ಯ್ಯನ್ |
ಬಾಧಿಪ್ಪ ಕಲಿಗೆ ಕಲಿಯುಗ ವಿಪರೀತನ್ | ಮಾಧವನೀತನ್ ಪೆಱನಲ್ಲ ||

[2] B. A. Saletore : Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, p. 159.

The vast area of a kingdom or empire in Karnāṭaka was usually divided into convenient, administrative divisions and mostly princes or other members of the royal house were appointed as viceroys to govern them. This kind of decentralisation was similar to the practice in Mauryan and Gupta Empires even in respect of the appointment of viceroys. But it is interesting to study the names of divisions and the details connected with them. These reveal certain new features of Karnāṭaka history. We notice that in Gangavādi, the kingdom was divided into a number of provinces, "which was subdivided into 'Nāḍus' and 'Viṣayas', 'Venṭyas', 'Khampanas', comprising of groups of villages and towns, the village constituting the lowest administrative unit. The territorial divisions were more popularly known as Gangavādi 96000, Banavāsi 12000"[1] etc. It is said that such "clearly defined divisions" did not exist in the Kadamba period and they came into vogue only with the Rāṣṭrakūta hegemony.[2] But their existance in the Ganga regime disproves the truth of the above statement. Be that as it may, we come across provincial divisions in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire, bearing some names common to Gangavāḍi and a few different ones. "Rāṣṭra was the largest administrative unit and Viṣaya was its sub-division."[3] It may be noted that they correspond to Nāḍu, which is the Kannaḍa equivalent of Rāṣṭra and Viṣaya of the Ganga rule. Under the Kalacūris and the early Cālukyas, however, "Viṣaya was

---

[1] M. V. Kṛṣṇa Rao: The Gangas of Talkāḍ, p. 139.

[2] G. M. Moraes: The Kadamba Kula, p. 265.

[3] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 136.

the larger and Rāṣṭra the smaller administrative unit".[1] Further, smaller units like 'Bhāga', 'Kampana', 'Pathake', etc. were also in vogue.[2] Viṣaya under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas "roughly corresponded to a modern district" and "the next territorial division was "Bhukti' "..... "which corresponded some times to the modern Taluka or Tahsil and sometimes to the sub-division of a district under the present British Administration".[3] In the Vijayanagara Empire, there were six principal provinces such as Udayagirirājya, Āragarājya etc.[4] In regard to the territorial sub-divisions, 'Sthala' village (?), 'Sīmā or Nāḍu', 'Vaḻita or Venṭhe', 'Rājya' (?) or 'Cāvadi' occur in Karnāṭaka as different from names in the Tamiḻ lands of the Vijayanagara Empire, alongside of conventional names used in Sanskrit like 'Grāma'; 'Nagara' 'Kheḍa' etc.[5] On the whole, the peculiarity of the nomenclature given to divisions and sub-divisions in historical Karnāṭaka is well worth noticing. The numerical figures suffixed to the territorial units are also a very singular feature of the administration. What they exactly stood for is still a moot point. The common view is that they indicated

---

[1] Ibid, p. 136 and Vadner inscription of Budharāja, E. I, XII, p. 130.

[2] A. P. Karmarkar: Administrative Machinery in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka (Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 3 & 4), p. 436.

[3] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 137.

[4] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 298.

[5] Ibid, p. 295.

the number of villages comprising a division.[1] It is also held that the revenue amount of the division was denoted by those huge figures.[2] A third suggestion, that seems to be plausible, is as follows : "Rice has observed that Nāḍs were often called 'thousands' in Karnāṭaka. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Banavāsi 12000, Gangavāḍi 96000.. were so designated not because they contained so many villages, but because they consisted of 12, 96....divisions or Nāḍs".[3] A point that deserves to be specially noted is the importance attached to the purely non-Sankrit term Nāḍu as an administrative unit throughout the political history of Karnāṭaka. It may be recalled here that Nāḍu was interpreted in the First Section of this book as "the native land of the Nāḍavar", who were probably among the pioneers of the Kannaḍa civilisation in the Deccan tableland.

From epigraphical records, we can cull together a good deal of information regarding the officers, their qualifications and duties. Some significant details only can be mentioned here. Under the Kadambas, there were five ministers, forming a cabinet. "According to the nature of the work they fell under five categories, viz. the steward of the household '(Manevergaḍe)', the councillors '(Tantrapālas)', minister of State '(Pradhāna)', the steward of betel-bag and the secretary of the council".[4] In the secretariat, "Already

[1] A. S. Āltekar : The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 149.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇa Rao : The Gangas of Talkāḍ, pp. 139–40.

[3] A. S. Āltekar : The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 149. [4] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 262. and E. I. XV, p. 75.

in the 5th century there is a mention made of the private secretary '(Rahasyādhikṛta)' under the Kadamba king Mandhātṛvarma ".[1] It must be remembered that the term Rahasyādhikṛta might not have meant all that " private secretary " means today. In the Ganga administration, the number of ministers varied with the needs of the state. The officers of State were differentiated from those of the palace".[2] Among the officers of the State, the chief minister was known as Mahāpradhāna, some times also referred to by the designation 'Daṇḍanāyaka' or 'Sarvādhikāri '.[3] The minister for peace and war was 'Sandhivigrahi', spoken of also as 'Mallavijaya Sūtradhāri.[4] The latter is a new term applied to the minister for foreign affairs. It is, however, likely that this term was merely a title of the person concerned.[5] Quite a number of the officers of the palace like 'Mahapasāyita' (minister for robes), 'Maha Āryaka' (the palace chamberlain) have been mentioned. Some of the names like 'Paḍiyara', 'Sajjevaḻa', and 'Haḍapavaḻa, are words in Kannaḍa. "There are references to 'Rāyasūtradhāri' (royal draughtsman), to 'Mahāmātra' not as a moral censor but as

---

[1] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 263 & E. C. VII, sk 29.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇa Rao: The Gangas of Talkāḍ, p. 132.

[3] E. C. V, hn 53; E. C. II, sb 240. A distinction is made by implication between Sarvādhikāri, the prime-minister and Mahāpradhāna, the chief minister by Mr. M. V. Kṛṣṇa Rao in his book "The Gangas of Talkāḍ" p. 132, which is not borne out by the epigraphs cited by him.

[4] E. C. VI, mg 21. [5] E. C. V, ak 194.

a supervisor of 'Śāsana' expressions, to 'Rajjuka', probably an officer in charge of revenue settlement and to 'Rahasyādhikṛta' (private secretary) and 'Lekhaka'."[1] In the Cālukya period, the following officers are enumerated—the 'Antaḥpurādhyakṣa' (superintendent of the harem), 'Karituragavergaḍe' (minister for elephaat forces and cavalry), Śrikaraṇa (chief accountant), 'Mannevergaḍe' (palace controller), 'Dharmādhikāri' (superintendent of religious affairs), etc.[2] Many of these officers and their departments were known to India at least from the time of Candragupta, the founder of the Mauryan Empire. In Karnāṭaka, some of them, though not new, must have grown independently, out of the very necessity of administration, as their peculiar names suggest. The qualifications of ministers in the kingdoms of Karnāṭaka were generally the same as those laid down in ancient works in Sanskrit like the 'Arthaśāstra' of Kauṭilya. But the additional qualification of military leadership which we find invariably in the ministers of Karnāṭaka has not been mentioned anywhere in Sanskrit texts with proper emphasis".[3] We have seen before that the commander-in-chief was styled both 'Daṇḍanāyaka and 'Sarvādhikāri'. This was very much in evidence in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa regime, because we are told that "in the Deccan during the period under review we, however, find that ministers were very frequently military leaders and

[1] M. V. Kṛṣṇa Rao: The Gangas of Talkāḍ, p. 135.

[2] A. P. Karmarkar: Administrative Machinery in Karnāṭaka (Mythic Society Journal, Vol, 31, Nos. 3 & 4) p. 441.

[3] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 163.

were accustomed to take a leading part in the warfare of the times".[1] The minister of morality and religion was 'Purohita' in ancient India, 'Dharmamahāmātya under Aśoka, 'Paṇḍita' in Śukranīti and under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was 'Dharmānkuśa', which is a significant title indeed.[2] In the Vijayanagara Empire, the whole machinery of government was much more organised than during any previous regime. The underlying spirit of the administration was to govern the Empire in consonance with the wishes of the people and the opinions of the learned and thus to eliminate the element of autocracy as far as possible. With this object in view, it seems to us that "Their ministers were recruited from the ranks of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas"[3] and "while the Rājaguru was always a Brāhmaṇa, the post of prime minister was bestowed on a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya".[4] Though the king of Vijayanagara had absolute power of decision, he did yield at times to the counsel of his ministers. In the chronicle of Huniz, "we have evidence of a council, of the stubborn stand made by the Emperor as regards the question of war, of the equally persistent attitude of the councillors, and finally, of the manner in which the ruler yielded to the advice of his ministers".[5] In the secretariat and army, there were

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, p. 163.

[2] Ibid, p. 169.

[3] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 256.

[4] Ibid, p. 256. [5] Ibid, p. 254.

several departments and officers with new designations like 'Rāyasa', 'Kāryakarta', 'Nāyaka', 'Amaranāyaka' and 'Paṭṭeyanāyaka some of which are not intelligible to us today.[1]

CHAPTER VI

The association of the subjects with the administration of the kingdom was a very ancient convention in Karnāṭaka. We can clearly perceive the continuation and the development of that convention from time to time. Village autonomy was the foundation on which the whole structure of the government stood. The Village Panchayet system must have been in vogue from early times, at least from the time of the Kadambas.[2] The twelve Āyagars, who were members of the Panchayet, are mentioned in a later inscription of 1544 A.D.[3] "They form the primitive village

---

[1] N. Venkaṭa Ramaṇayya: Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, pp. 179-180 for the meaning of Nāyaka and Amaranāyaka.

'Amara' means literally a command of a thousand foot. Nāyaka is said to denote "a military chief under Vijayanagara Rājas". "Amaranāyaka may be understood to mean, a piece of land yielding revenue, granted to a military chief by the Rāyas of Vijayanagara".

[2] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 273.

[3] E. C. XII, si 41:—ನಾಲು ನಿಮಗೆ ಸೀಮೆಯೊಳಗೆ 'ಹಂನೆರಡು ಅಯಗಾಱರ' ಸಂಗಡ ನಿಮಗೆ ಸಲುವಂಥಾ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ ಕೆಱೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಬಾಹ..ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯದ .... ಮುಂತಾದ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವ ಅನುಭವಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಸರ್ವಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ........

corporation, who are entitled to certain land rent-free or to fixed fees or dues of grain and straw at harvest time. A reference to the Eighteen castes which form the ancient Right and Left hand factions, appears so far back as in 459 (DB. 67), which shows that they are much more ancient than generally supposed."[1].... "The sections included in them are called Phanas and comprise the agricultural, artisan and trading communities. The Balagai or Right Hand are headed by the Baṇajigas, with the Holeyas at the bottom; the Yaḍagai or Left Hand are headed by the Pāncālas with the Mādiga at the bottom".[2] The village was thus developed into a self-contained unit with the Āyagars forming the Village Panchayet, looking after law and justice, the Nāḍagowḍa or Gāvuṇḍa, i.e., the headman looking after revenue collection, the Senubova or the clerk keeping the accounts, the Taḻavāra, i.e., watchman doing police duty and the eighteen castes plying their hereditary trade or handicraft in order to provide for all the agricultural and other needs of the village. This complete vision of village life as an entity by itself has been a very ancient and common feature of India in the North as well as well as in the South. It should only be noted that Karnāṭaka enjoyed village autonomy from very early times and that many of its features might have developed independently in the Kannaḍa country in the course of its cultural

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 183 and E. C. Vol. IX, db. 67:—ವಿಸಾಲೂರ ಕೆಱೆಕಿಱೆಪಣಿಕಣ್ಡ ಗಂ ವ್ರೀಹಿಭೂಮಿಂ ದತ್ತವ್ಯ 'ಅಷ್ಟಾದಶಜಾತಿಭಿಃ' ಸರ್ವಪರಿಹಾರೈಃ ಸಪಾನೀಯಪಾತ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯಂ.

[2] Ibid, p. 183.

growth. A study of Tuḻuva tradition as chiefly embodied in a work called 'Grāmapaddhati' and in folksongs called Pāḍadānas has been made in detail by Dr. Saletore with very interesting results, results that go to establish the independent nature of several features of village life in Karnāṭaka.[1] To be brief, Tuḻu village as envisaged by the Grāmapaddhati is a very novel unit with innovations like the 'Aḻiya santānada Kaṭṭu' i.e., the law of inheritance by the nephew in social and legal matters. Some of its novel features are described thus: "The divisions of the land into grāmas together with the households was one feature of the viilage organisation of ancient Tuḻuva. Another feature which may be noted is the prominence which was given to usage; while a third feature was the conduct of business in the General Assembly. .... It is interesting to observe that there were sixteen Maryādegaḻu or usages in Koṭa" (details regarding which are given on pp. 303-4).[2] Questions concerning religious texts were to be settled in the Kūṭasthalas or centres of Assembly with seven persons called Smṛtikāras as judges. Jagatkūṭa was the General Assembly summoned to hear appeals against unjust decisions. It should be remembered that the village system adumbrated in the Grāmapaddhati is pre-eminently Brahmanical in origin and spirit.

We learn about the functioning of the village Assembly in the rural life of Karnāṭaka from very early times. Though the composition of the assembly is not exactly known, there is reason to believe that almost all the villages had one each. References are made in the Kadamba records

[1] B. A. Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, Ch. 4.

[2] B. A. Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, p. 303.

to "a meeting of all the villagers" for settling extraordinary matters[1] and "the Mantravāḍi inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I informs us that a meeting of the villagers was convened, of which Nāgadeva was elected president, to decide some matter connected with the grant made by the forty Mahājanas of Eḻpuṇuse, the Gorava moni and the managers of the Elamvaḻḻi temple to the honourable Gokarṇapaṇḍitadeva".[2] There is a reference to a meeting in the Hoysaḷa period, when in the presence of all the Mahājanas who were assembled, a certain gift was made.[3] But a doubt may arise whether the Mahājanas who formed the village assembly meant all the villagers. Prof. Āltekar, who has discussed this topic of village councils of Karnāṭaka in some detail, says "Village assemblies or councils in Tamiḻ country consisted neither of the whole adult population, as was the case in Karnāṭaka, nor a few select gentlemen, as was the case in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt, but of about 20 to 30 individuals elected by a kind of selection by ballot.... The constitution of the village councils in Karnāṭaka differed considerably from the above type. ....The absence of

---

[1] E. C. Vol. VIII, sb 132, 359.

[2] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 273 and E. I. VII, p. 201. That Nāgadeva was elected as the president of the meeting, referred to in the said inscription, is not quite clear from the wording of the passage, which occurs at the end: "Nāgadevanī Dharmadoḻ Goṣṭi (ṣṭhi) ā(?)dom." Though it is translated thus: Nāgadeva was the president of the meeting in the matter of this religious grant."

[3] E. C. V, ak 123: ಹಾರವನಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಶೇಷಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳು ಸಭಾಮಂಟಪದಲು ಮಹಾಸಭೆಯಾಗಿ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ.

election or selection in Karnāṭaka was due not to the village bodies being less but more democratic than was the case in the Tamil country. Mahājanas, as the members of the village council were called in Karnāṭaka, seemed to have included in that province, in the vast majority of cases, the heads of all the families, residing in the village".[1] It is very edifying to observe from the above quotation and from the instances, cited further by him[2] that the spririt of democracy was kept alive in the village of Karnāṭaka, in spite of absolute monarchy at the centre of every administration.[3] "The powers and functions of the village councils were similar to those in the South. They were looking after and arranging for the public works and other needs of the village community. We find them organising schools and charity houses (I.A. XIII, pp. 93-4), managing temple property (I.A. XII, p. 258) where no sect or other organisation existed and arranging for the maintenance and repairs of the village tank (I.A. XII, p. 224). They were also receiving deposits on trust from private individuals to be utilised for specific public works according to their wishes (I.A. XII, p. 220)".[4]

---

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 198–9.

[2] Ibid, 199–201.

[3] An account of the village assembly under the Cālukyas may be read in "Local Organisation in Cālukyan Karnāṭaka" by Dinkar Desai (The Karnāṭaka Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, 1 & 2, pp. 12–13).

[4] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 208.

Side by side with village autonomy, it may be shown that political institutions of some kind were set up in the kingdom of Karnāṭaka to ascertain the opinions of the populace on the policy and procedure of the administration. They might have been merely consultative bodies but a a well-meaning king with his ministry could not set aside the collective opinion of such representative institutions. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period we get a few references to them. "Deccan records....prove that the terms Paura and Jānapada were not used to denote popular representative bodies in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period".[1] Jānapada has been used but once, meaning "subjects in general and not for their representative assemblies".[2] At the same time, "non-official bodies possessing administrative powers.... certainly existed in villages, and probably in districts (Viṣayas) and provinces (Rāṣṭras) as well; their members were known as Grāmamahattaras, Viṣayamahattaras and Rāṣṭramahattaras respectively".[3] Grāmahattara denoted a member of the non-official village council. Analogy would, therefore, show that Rāṣṭramahattaras and Viṣaya-mahattaras may have, very probably, constituted a body of the notables and elders in the province and district respectively".[4] This reference is very valuable for understanding how even a clearly monarchical government was well-intentioned enough to allow for the existence of non-official bodies, chosen from among its subjects in all the important units of administration.

---

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 157.

[2] & [3] Ibid, p. 158. [4] Ibid, p. 158.

In the Vijayanagara Empire, the co-operation of the people was forthcoming in every department of state activity. As before, the village assemblies, sometimes called Mahāsabhās, carried on their autonomous activities perhaps with greater zest and larger representation than before. We notice that "The heads of the commercial groups and corporations....seemed to have formed an integral part of the village assemblies also in the Karnāṭaka".[1] Though we have no knowledge of the district and provincial assemblies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa variety, we can certainly say that the Vijayanagara people did have their corporate life in political matters. In the time of Devarāya II, a political compact was signed between two parties and the agreement thus made was "ratified in the presence of some villagers and district people".[2] Though this reference comes from Tamiḻnād, it easily suggests the prevalence of similar corporate life all over the Empire.

The people of Karnāṭaka evinced civic consciousness in their municipal bodies and trade guilds of a certain old type, described in the records of the different periods of history. The first noteworthy feature is that since the time of the Kadambas, "all important towns had a corporation and a town mayor called Paṭṭaṇasāvi[3] (same as Paṭṭaṇaswāmi)". The duties of the mayor and the corporation are not specified in the records of the Kadambas but it is known that "the kings often granted special constitutions to the towns"

[1] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire Vol. I, p. 340. [2] Ibid, p. 358.

[3] G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, p. 274. and E. I. XIII, p. 336; E. C. VII, sk 123.

according to which the citizens had to conduct themselves in the affairs of the city, The Paṭṭaṇaswāmi, referred to as the mayor, was "generally a prominent merchant".[1] "Some of the regulations laid down on the foundation of a town in 1331" have been obtained in record (Ml. 114).[2] From a study of ancient Karnāṭaka, we learn that "so early as the 6th century A. D., Udayāvara was already enjoying the advantages of municipal life",[3] being called a 'Nagara' with Nāyaka or headman and a constitution of its own. The citizens of a Nagara were called in the earlier days merely Okkalu; and in the 12th century A.D. they collectively formed the Nagara samūha or municipal corporation".[4] There was a daily supervision of towns (Nityavyavasthe) and "This duty of supervision of the towns and of protecting the country belonged only to the ruler".[5] The cities had their representatives corresponding to the members of a corporation. They were variously called Sāsirvarum (the thousand), Munnūrvar (the three hundred). "These terms denoted the composition of the assembly of the citizens".[6] A number of towns like Brahmavuru had their representative bodies. Under the Vijayanagara rulers, the village assembly of Niruvāra was known by the name of Jagattamunnūru (the three hundred of the world). The unanimous decision taken by the corporate assembly in Mūḍabidre in the regime

---

[1] & [2] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 181.

[3] B. A. Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, p. 176.

[4] & [5] Ibid, p. 177. ಈ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಅಗೆ ಊರು ರಕ್ಷಿಪ್ಪುದು ಇದಾನ್ ದೇವರ್ಗಲ್ಲದೆ ಪೇರಾರ್ಗ್ಗೆಲ್ ವರೊಳ್ ರ........(ಕೊಳ್ಳರೊಳರ್ ?)

[6] Ibid, 178,

of the Hoysaḷa Prince, Viraballāḷa II is proved by an epigraph dated 1281 A.D. It is stated therein that the officers of the State, the heads of commercial guilds (Manisaśeṭṭis), the citizens (Nakararu) and several others 'unanimously (Tammoḷ Ekastarāgi)' arrived at a decision "concerning the preservation of a 'Dharmada kallu' or Edict of Righteousness".[1] All such records speak volumes for the great consideration which the states in Karnāṭaka showed to popular opinion, notwithstanding their absolute power of autocracy. From the Ganga records, we notice that "the administration of the towns was usually in the hands of merchant guilds, Nigamasabhas, sometimes expanding themselves into an assembly of the citizens of which the Paṭṭaṇaswāmi was the head" and thus "the town organisation was predominantly mercantile".[2] This shows that mostly the traders of the town interested themselves in the corporation since it affected their vital interests. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, "the city affairs were managed by the prefects (called Purapati or Nagarapati) with the help of non-official committees".[3] The prefects were officers of the government; but "no clue is available to indicate the way in which these town committees were formed".[4]

Associations of merchants called Śreṇis or trade guilds were a regular feature of city life in Karnāṭaka since the Śātavāhana period.[5] In the Ganga kingdom we saw that

---

[1] Ibid, p. 182.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao: The Gangas of Talakād, p. 160.

[3] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 182. [4] Ibid, p. 183.

[5] R. G. Bhandārkar: Early History the Deccan, p. 61.

they were called Nigamasabhas with the management of municipal affairs in their charge. Śreṇis of oil-mongers and other tradesmen and workers were included in the town organisation, into which the Nigamasabhas sometimes expanded themselves with the Paṭṭaṇaswāmi as their head. "Though merchants of Brahmin decent....are spoken of in a few inscriptions, the mercantile and traditional classes were mostly 'Vīrabaṇajigas'.[1] Similar references to 'Vīrabaṇajadharma' can be found in the Kadamba records, indicating the unwritten law of the trading classes, In the Kadamba period, " in many cities trade and industries were regulated by guilds ".[2] About their origin it is said that little information is yielded by the inscriptions and yet " the system in its organised form was probably introduced into Karnāṭaka from the North. Nevertheless it stands to reason to suppose that some form of commercial organisation did exist in Karnāṭaka before the establishment of the guild system ".[3] The guilds of mediæval Karnāṭaka are classed under two divisions, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. Though little is known about "the constitution and working of these guilds", it may be inferred that they regulated the economic life of the town and " were the centre of activity in the city" thus performing social and religious functions as well.[4] "The highly developed character of the guilds " is evident from the epigraphical references to guilds of 360 cities.[5] In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period also,

[1] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao : The Gangas of Talkād, p. 160.

[2] & [3] G. M. Moraes : The Kadambakula, p. 284.

[4] Ibid, p. 285.

[5] Ibid, p. 286.

guilds continued to flourish. We can gather a detailed account of their working from the records. For instance, "every guild had an executive, the strength of which varied with its membership and activities".[1] We learn that these guilds had their own militias and banners, umbrellas and Chowris.[2] "The guild banks were among the most stable banks of our (Rāṣṭra-kūṭa) period, inspiring the highest amount of public confidence",[3] and even the rate of interest of one of these banks has been ascertained to be about 17% per annum.[4] Guilds in the Vijayanagara times may be said to have been more organised and influential than any in the previous centuries. The Vīrabaṇajigas, as the members of the guilds were called, "continued to exercise powerful inflence in Vijayanagara times".[5] They maintained the names and the traditional greatness of their high officials. The senior merchant was called the Vaḍḍa Vyavahāri.[6] Another was known as Paṭṭaṇaswāmi. "The office of Paṭṭaṇaswāmi was in some way connected with a 'Sante' or weekly fair which was established by the joint efforts of the people".[7] A Paṭṭaṇaswāmi also could be a Vaḍḍa Vyavahāri or senior

---

[1] A. S. Āltekar : The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 369.

[2] Ibid, p. 370. [3] Ibid, p. 371. [4] Ibid, p. 372.

[5] B. A. Saletore : Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. II, p. 103.

[6] This term occcurs in earlier epigraphs also.

[7] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. II, p. 104.

merchant. The guilds conferred on some of the highest Government officials the rank and dignity of the Pṛthivi-śeṭṭi or the Mayor of the Earth". [1] The authority of the guilds was so great that they could inflict penalty "on those who violated the decisions of their unions". [2] "The leaders of the guilds seem to have exercised some powerful control at the royal court. In A D. 1355,....when the leaders of guilds petitioned to the Government, it undertook the construction of new towns" and "the heads of the guilds could secure remission of taxes from the Government". [3]

It is evident from the brief survey of these corporate activities in Karnāṭaka that monarchy and democracy were not always contradictory terms and that the spirit of democracy was allowed to continue undiminished in the various administrations of the country in all the periods. We have also noted that corporate life was much more efficient and progressive in the Vijayanagara times. It would, therefore, be adequate to conclude that Karnāṭaka contributed its own mite to the dynamism of Indian culture by effecting a varied and progressive synthesis of the power of the state and the power of the popular will.

CHAPTER VII.

In the section on ancient Karnāṭaka, we tried to get an idea of the religious life in the Kannaḍa country before the advent of the Aryan immigrants and to assess the results of Aryan contact with the earliest natives of Karnāṭaka. We

[1] & [2] Ibid, 107. [3] Ibid, p. 108.

shall now proceed to describe and evaluate the religious and social culture of Karnāṭaka as it obtained during the historical period.

The religious history of Karnāṭaka is as varied and valuable as its political history. The most remarkable feature is the fact that right from the pre-christian era to the end of the last century, the doors of Karnāṭaka have been open to all the great religions of India and the world, apart from the religions and sects that sprang up or flourished on the Kannaḍa soil. Historically considered. the entry of alien faiths into Karnāṭaka may seem to be due to weak resistance or infirm goodness on the part of the Kannaḍa people. But the deeper truth lies in the general readiness of the Kannaḍiga to receive from outside whatever is new and good. Even supposing an alien religion stepped into the land like an uninvited guest, the Kannaḍa host, who is by nature hospitable to a fault, treated the guest coureteously and made it or him feel at home. In the religious history of Karnāṭaka, the hospitality and the courtesy of the people have been greatly responsible for the wonderful variety which we notice in the life of the community. It has been suggested before that when the Aryan came and settled in the south, he followed the Vedic religion of sacrifice, modified by the later school of devotion to God Śiva or Viṣṇu. From the epigraphs of the early Christian era, we can deduce that the aforesaid religion of the Aryan was much in vogue all over the Kannaḍa country under the impetus given by royal patronage.[1] The performance of sacrifice

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar: Early History of the Deccan, p. 58; G. M. Moraes: The Kadambakula, pp. 249-50.

such as the Aśvamedha and the worship of Śiva were clearly in vogue in the early period.[1] It may be inferred that this was the faith, that had prevailed in Karnāṭaka long since even before the arrival of the non-Vedic religions on the scene. Alongside of it, the purely Dravidian forms of worship like the worship of the cobra, trees and spirits might have been prevalent in ancient Karnāṭaka. The worship of Śakti in the form of several female deities with their toll of animal or human sacrifice must have also been current in very early times.

Jainism and Buddhism began to spread in the South under the conditions noted above. One can easily see how their common gospel of 'ahimsā' came to Karnāṭaka as a proper corrective, both to the Aryan and Dravidian forms of sacrifice, involving himsā. The success of both the faiths might have been due to their vital dynamism as against the dry formalism in which they found the extant religion and superstition of the early Kannaḍiga. Of the two, Jainism, which came earlier, lasted longer. Buddhism came later, flashed forth for a time and practically went out of vogue later.[2]

[1] E. C. VII, sk 176, 178 and I. A. XLI, p. 231.

[2] It is well-kown that Buddhism prospered in Kanāṭaka urder the Śātavāhanas and the early Cālukyas. It is, however, not so well-known that the Buddhist missionaries of Karnāṭaka and of the South in general went overseas towards Burma and other eastern countries. They colonised there and carried on religious propaganda, employing the Kannaḍa-Telugu script, which was in vogue in their time. Reference may be made to the contribution of the Thervāḍa

As is known to history, Jainism entered the Kannaḍa land with the Mauryan Emperor Candragupta and his spiritual guide, Bhadrabāhu in about 300 B.C. The place of their penance viz., the mount of Śravaṇa Beḻgoḻa in Mysore came to be the oldest and the holiest centre of Jainism in the South. The disciples of Bhadrabāhu spread over the Kannaḍa country and propagated the Jaina faith, carrying conviction to the people by their precept and practice. The living touch of their personality must have electrified the masses and brought converts to the new faith. First in Gangavāḍi and then in the rest of Karnāṭaka, Jainism grew in popularity from century to century through its far-flung centres of 'Śravaṇa Beḻgoḻa', 'Kārkaḻa', 'Koppaṇ' and 'Mānyakheṭa'. Its principles of ahimsā and of spiritual self-reliance for the sake of salvation must have appealed to the people greatly, at a time when they were almost blinded by conventional religion and were in need of active rationalism.

Buddhism began to exercise its influence on Karnāṭaka from the days of Aśoka, whose edicts are full of his message —the message of ethical religion. His missionaries carried that message all over the land and seemed to have secured a large number of converts, mostly in Banavāsi since we come across references to many Buddhist monasteries in that part of Karnāṭaka.[1] But Jainism had already struck

or Southern School of Buddhism. Read 'Greater Indian Research' by U.N. Ghosal (Progress of Indic Studies BORI), pp. 272, 274-5, 281-2, 307.

[1] G. M. Moraes: Kadambakula, p. 63 and Thomas Watters: On Yuān Cwāng's Travels in India, II, 237-8.

root in the Kannaḍa soil and could not, therefore, be supplanted by a religion which, to the common man, was not very much different from its predecessor. We, however, obtain evidence of Buddhism in Karnāṭaka in Baḻḻigāme and several other places, though as a faint, flickering light, as late as the end of the 11th century A.D.[1] and probably even up to the 16th century.[2] Reacting to the spread of Jainism and Buddhism, the Vedic religion was trying to hold its own, though its essentially Brahmanical form could not succeed againt the universal appeal of the new faiths. It also lacked the vivifying touch of personality, being obsessed with ritual convention. The rise of Śankara on the horizon in the 8th century[3] was a happy augury for Brahmanism and Vedic culture. Born in the Keraḻa country Śankara travelled all over India for the spread of the Advaita doctrine. One of his five maṭhas, perhaps the earliest and the most famous, is in Śṛngeri, situated in Mysore. "Among his foremost disciples was Citsukhācārya, a Brahmin of Gokarṇa in north Kanara".[4] Vidyāraṇya

---

[1] Fleet: The Dynasties of the Kanarese Dists., p. 49; and I. A. Vol. X, pp. 185, 273; and B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg, p. 203; and E. C. VII, sk 106, 170.

[2] P. S. Lakṣminarasu: Buddhism and Mysore (Mythic Society Journal, Vol. 31, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 323–337).

[3] Opinion regarding the date of Śankara varies from 600 A. D. to 900 A. D. [Cf. Indian Philosophy by S. Rādhākṛṣṇan, Vol. II, p. 447]. We have taken 8th cent. A. D. as the date of Śankara for purposes of our survey here since that appears to be generally acceptable.

[4] D. K. Bhāradvāja: Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 145.

occupied the pontfiical seat at Śṛngeri in the 14th century and renewed the message of monism in the Kannaḍa land. The Smārta sect, founded by Śankara, is one of the important Brahmin communities of Karnāṭaka. At the beginning of the 12th century, Rāmānuja came away from the the Tamil country to Mysore owing to the persecution of the Vaiṣṇavas by the Cola kings, who were staunch Śaivas.[1] He obtained shelter under the benign rule of the Hoysala king, Biṭṭideva, who was Jaina by persuasion.[2]

---

[1] A. N. Kṛṣṇa Ayyangar : The Contribution of Mysore to Vaiṣṇavism in South India. (Mythic Society Journal, Vol. 31, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 426-434).

[2] It is held that Rāmānuja converted Biṭṭideva to the Srivaiṣṇava faith, after which he came to be called Viṣṇuvardhana. But there is no clear proof of this conversion in recorded history and it is not unlikely that the support and the sympathy of this Hoysala king to the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, Rāmānuja and his cult was interpreted that way. It might thus have given rise to a floating tradition about his conversion, which was rendered credible by the frequent references to him in inscriptions as Viṣṇuvardhana and as a devotee of Viṣṇu and by his munificence in building Viṣṇu temples as in Belūr and providing for their maintenance (E. C. sb 143, 240 and bl 3, 58, 71). It may only be added here that in several inscriptions one of the epithets qualifying him is 'Samyaktvacūḍāmaṇi' which is clear proof of his being a Jaina (E. C. sb 132, 143, 240). But in some of them he is styled as Vīranārāyaṇa and Śrīmatu Keśavadevā Pādārādhaka (sb 143) or Mukunda pādāravindavandanavinoda (bl 9, 58, 71), preceded by

This marks a turning point in the religious history of Karnāṭaka since the influence of Jainism which was on the increase up to now began to wane by slow degrees. Rāmānuja established Śrivaiṣṇava centres in Karnāṭaka, as in Melkoṭe in Mysore State and preached devotion to Viṣṇu as the corner stone of his doctrine of Viśiṣṭādvaita i.e., qualified monism.

About the middle of the 12th century, a great revolution took place in North Karnāṭaka when Basava revived the Vīraśaiva faith, founded the Lingāyat sect and gave stimulus to the school of devotion to Śiva, which was represented by the Pāśupatas and the Kāḻāmukhas. It was a period of unsurpassed spiritual fervour. During this period, a host of Vīraśaiva mystics from all quarters of Karnāṭaka headed by Allama Prabhu, Basava, Cenna Basava, Siddharāma and Akkamahādevi, stood for the new outlook in religion and literature and built up the Vīraśaiva institution of Anubhāvagoṣṭhi or Anubhavamanṭapa in Kalyāṇa, the capital of king Bijjaḻa of the Kalacūri house. Madhva, who is the third of the Vedantic teachers after Śankara and

---

Vāsantikādevīlabdha varaprasāda in many of them or Ṣrīmadacyuta pādārādhanalabdha jiṣṇuprabhāva (bl 17). Is this, along with the fact that he is more often described as Viṣṇu or Viṣṇuvardhana than Biṭṭideva even in Jaina inscriptions and that he named his son as Vijayanarasimha, any indication of his conversion to the Vaiṣṇava faith? Or does it merely suggest a general devotion to God Viṣṇu under the influence of Rāmānuja without any formal conversion? The question still remains open and deserves to be gone into by students of history.

Rāmānuja, was born near Uḍapi in South Kanara in the 13th century and taught the Dvaita doctrine, the doctrine characterised by unqualified dualism and devotion to Viṣṇu as the highest deity. He founded eight pontifical seats at Uḍapi for the worship of God Kṛṣṇa, whose temple also he erected. Some of his renowned successors like Ṭīkācārya, Vyāsarāya and Rāghavendraswāmi propagated his tenets by writing commentaries on his work in Sanskrit, whereas such devotees as Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa popularised the school of Bhakti through the institution of Dāsakūṭa, composed of Haridāsas or servants of God, singing songs in simple and racy Kannaḍa. The religion of Islām was introduced in Karnāṭaka in the 14th century, except on the western coast, where it had been introduced much earlier and thenceforward it spread gradually all over the land. It is significant that "among all the south Indian provinces, it is only in Karnāṭaka that Islāmic religion and culture took some root and flourished".[1] Christianity began to exert its influence during the Vijayanagara period and later, from the 17th century onwards, though it has been pointed out that "the earliest settlement in Karnāṭaka seems to be in Kalyāṇa near Uḍapi, where we are informed there was a Christian Bishop in the 6th century".[2] The influence of Christianity has been on the increase since the 19th century owing to the systematic efforts of several missions spread in all parts of Karnāṭaka.

This is, in brief, a survey of the main currents of religious activity in Karnāṭaka. It is evident from this survey

[1] D. K. Bhāradvāja: Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 149.

[2] Ibid, p. 151.

that, for over two thousand years, Karnāṭaka has been either the birth-place or nursery of several faiths and sects. There can be no doubt that, of all the provinces in India, Karnāṭaka has good reason to be proud of such characteristic variety in religious life. It is true that this variety is not and could not be the outcome of any voluntary plan on the part of the people and that some of the religions are found to exist in the Kannaḍa country because they more or less forced themselves on the population. But this is partially true. We can prove from history that the response, given to many religious schools except perhaps the non-Hindu faiths, was generally voluntary and wholehearted, when conversion was mostly by persuasion and not by coercion. The reception that Śankara and Rāmānuja were accorded in the Kannaḍa country though they hailed from other parts of the South is proof of the generous mentality of the people and their kings. The Jaina faith prospered in Karnāṭaka owing to its missionary activities, which were based exclusively on persuasion. Even conversion to non-Hindu faiths was not always coercive in the strict sense of the term, since people were driven by economic and social conditions to profess a new faith, that gave them food, shelter and social status. Karnāṭaka is proud of its religious variety for its historical value as well as for the basic unity, which it has striven to achieve in the midst of baffling diversity. It will be seen that Karnāṭaka has thus excellent possibilities of contributing today to the building up of a United India in spite of several castes and creeds. It is clear from the above account that faiths like Vīraśaiva and Mādhva originated in Karnāṭaka and their founders viz., Basava and Madhva were out and out personalities of Kar-

nāṭaka. The followers of these sects are also mostly to be found in Karnāṭaka.[1] The Mādhva is a sect of the Brahmanical order with its very valuable contribution to Vedantic philosophy and religion, whereas the Vīraśaiva is an institutional religion, embracing all men and women, irrespective of caste and creed. The latter may very well be classed with the great religions of the world like Buddhism and may be considered to have made a veritable contribution to the religious history of India and the world. Both these sects have exercised a profound influence on the religious life of India. To sum up, Karnāṭaka has made its unique contribution to Indian culture by the characteristic variety of its religious life in general and by the indigenous character of some of its faiths and practices in particular.

In respect of royal patronage, all the faiths of Karnāṭaka have been singularly fortunate. Jainism came along with a Mauryan king and received ample support from all the kings of Karnāṭaka in the course of history. The Śātavāhanas and the Kadambas were the first to extend their generous patronage to Jainism in Karnāṭaka. The Gangas upheld Jainism next. Most of the Ganga kings professed the faith and spread it among their people.[2] All the

---

[1] Mādhvas are to be found in Āndhra and Tamiḻ areas in good numbers and there are Vīraśaivas in Tamiḻnaḍ and Āndhra also. They all speak Kannaḍa at home. It may, however, be noted that Vīraśaivas in the Satāra district speak Marāṭhi and have entirely lost touch with Kannaḍa.

[2] Since the time of its foundation, the Ganga dynasty appears to us to have professed the Jaina faith consistently. But the names of a few Ganga rulers as Viṣṇugopa and

later dynasties like the Cālukya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Hoysaḷa extended their willing patronage to the Jaina religion. Buddhism was patronised by the Śātavāhanas in the days of its glory, in Karnāṭaka. Later dynasties also were tolerant and helpful to the adherents of that faith. The Vedic religion and its Vedantic sects were fostered not only by the Kadambas, the Cālukyas and the Hoysaḷas but even by the Gangas whose leanings were generally Jaina. The Vijayanagara Empire was the greatest centre of all the faiths, that prevailed at the time: Vedic and Vedantic, Jaina and Vīraśaiva, Islamic and Christian, thus practising the principle of religious tolerance and universal patronage to serve as a permanent model for any government.

Harivarma and their description as devotees of God Viṣṇu and as upholders of the Vedic religion in certain inscriptions have led us to employ the cautious phrase, "Most of the Ganga Kings professed the faith". The said inscriptions are mostly copper-plate grants, made to Brahmins. They invariably contain the same words and phrases in the description of the Ganga kings. It is not unlikely that there is a Brahmanical twist about them, based upon the tolerant and generous treatment, which was extended by the Gangas to the Brahmin community of the day, in spite of their religion being different. The use of adjectives like 'Paramabrāhmaṇya,' 'Gurugobrāhmaṇapūjaka' and 'Varṇāśramarakṣaka' can be easily explained. But it is hard to follow phrases like 'Avicchinnāśvamedhāvabhṛthābhiṣikta' attributing the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice to Ganga princes and that too, to one like Āvinīta (cf, E. C, X, db. 68), whose teacher is known to be a Jaina

This naturally leads us to a detailed discussion in regard to the attitude of the kings and the people of Karnāṭaka towards the different religions and sects of their time. We may here go into a few details to ascertain the nature of the patronage, which the kings afforded to the faiths of their time so that we can understand their religious attitude and its influence on their subjects. The Śātavāhanas, as we said, were the first patrons of Buddhism, though they themselves followed mostly the Vedic religion. It is possible that some of them might have even accepted Buddhism as their private creed since it was a new attraction, though the religion of the royal house remained unchanged. This is a trait which we meet with very frequently in the succeeding dynasties of Karnāṭaka so that there is often room for confusion as regards the family traditions of a royal house. One thing is certain viz., that in the reign of the Śātavāhanas, "Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. ....Gotamīputra also, in the same inscription which records benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brāhmaṇs....Kings and princes thus

---

from E. C. X, mr 72 (Svopādhyāyasya paramārhatasya vijayakīrteh....upadeśen). Rice has already questioned the authenticity of some of these inscriptions. (cf. Mysore Gazetteer, vol I, p. 312; and S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, pp. 15 and 16). One may read the following to understand the Jaina persuasion of the Ganga dynasty: "with Nandagiri as the fort, Kuvalāla as their city,....Jinendra as their god, the Jainamata as their faith, Dāḍiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth". (Rice: Mysore Gazetteer I, pp. 308, 310).

appear to have patronised the followers of both the religions and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them."[1] The effect of this royal policy was visible in the munificent acts of other princes and subjects of the kingdom, as we know that "Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhojas and Mahāraṭṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn dealers (Dhānyaka śreṇis), druggists (Gāndhikas) and ordinary householders (Gṛhasthas), caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion (i.e., Buddhism)".[2] The donors mentioned here were mostly followers of the Vedic religion. Their charity, therefore, speaks of their good sense and their religious tolerance, though it also indicates their genuine enthusiam for the new faith.

As we proceed with the history of religious persuasion in Karnāṭaka, we notice everywhere that this is the noble tradition, which kings set up and their people copied in their lives. The Kadamba princes were Brahmins by extraction and adherents of Śaivism in particular. Their Brahmanism is no longer a matter of doubt since they describe themselves in their epigraphs as well-versed in Vedic discourses (Pratikṛtasvādhyāyacarcāpāragānām Śrī Kadambānām)[3] and as performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice; yet their toleration towards Jainism is evidenced by numerous grants they made to the Jainas, which has led

---

[1] R. G. Bhandārkar: The Early History of the Deccan, p. 58.

[2] Ibid, p. 57. [3] E. C. V, bl 121.

some scholars to suppose that they were of the Jaina persuasion.[1] In the kingdom of the Gangas, it is surprising to learn that "Avinīta, Durvinīta, Śripuruṣa and Mārasimha are mentioned in copper-plate grants as maintaining, like Manu, the castes and religious orders of the South and making large grants of villages to Brahmins. Brahmanism continued to preserve its old Vedic rites and sacrifices along with the worship of other native gods who were exalted to the Vedic pantheon. It enjoyed great patronage and even preferential treatment from Ganga kings though they were of Jaina persuasion".[2] The policy of religious tolerance as a royal convention continued as an enviable heritage during their rule. Comparing the Gangas and the Kadambas, one is struck by the admirable spirit of religious accommodation shown by both the houses in their own way. Although most of them were Jainas, the Gangas nourished the Brahmin faith and the Kadambas, who were Brahmanical, supported the Jaina religion. The salutory effect of this catholicity of outlook could be seen in the life of the people of those times. "Inscriptions also refer to other orthodox and heretical sects which adhered to their doctrines and lived in amity with the followers of other religions".[3]

The early Cālukyas were votaries of the sacrificial religion and devotees of God Viṣṇu.[4] They are said to have performed a number of sacrifices including Aśvamedha

---

[1] G. M. Moraes: Kadambakula, p. 249.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao: The Gangas of Talkāḍ, pp. 187–8.

[3] Ibid, pp. 189–90.

[4] Govind Pai: Nṛpatungana Matavicāra (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike, XII, No. 4, pp. 250–1).

and it was then that Brahmin Paṇḍits wrote works on sacrificial ritual.[1] Temples, enshrining the trinity of Gods—Brahma, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara—were built and gifts were freely made to Brahmins. As Fleet says, "The Kuladevatā or family god of the Cālukyas was Viṣṇu; and the principal emblem that the seals of their grants and their coins always bear is a boar, derived from one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. But, in spite of this fact, in early times, they displayed a considerable amount of tolerance in matters of religion, and patronised the Jaina and Śaiva, equally with the Vaiṣṇava, faiths. And in the later generations they devoted themselves almost entirely to the Śaiva religion, particularly in the linga form of worship".[2] This shows not only religious tolerance but a flexibility of religious temper. It is of some interest to know that in the reign of Kīrtivarma I, the son of Pulakeśi I, endowments were made to a Jaina temple at Ādūr, and it was by the same Kīrtivarma "that the construction of Vaiṣṇava cave No. III at Badāmi was originated, and probably in his reign that it was commenced".[3] In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire, we find that "wide and sympathetic toleration was the general characteristic of our age".[4] The kings were worshippers of Viṣṇu or Śiva or both according to their predilection but many of them were either converted

[1] D. K. Bhāradvāj: Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 37; and A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 271; and Fleet, Ch. II, III, pp. 236–7.

[2] Fleet: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 18.

[3] Ibid, pp. 20–21.

[4] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times p. 272.

to Jainism or had recourse to it as a result of personal conviction.[1] At any rate, the commingling of both the faiths resulted in a true spirit of accommodation and assimilation. "Amoghavarṣa I was undoubtedly a follower of Jainism and yet he was such an ardent believer in the Hindu goddess Mahālakṣmi that he actually cut off one of his fingers and offered it to her, being led to believe that an epidemic, from which his kingdom was suffering, would vanish away by that sacrifice".[2] Following in the footsteps of such kings, "Brāhmaṇas of Ballaḷ family at Muḷgund offered a field to a Jaina monastery in 902 A.D."[3] In the period of the later Cālukyas, we come across examples not only of toleration but also of the practice of diverse faiths by a single individual. In a Belūr inscription of Jayasimha, dated 1022 A. D., "the donor Akkādevi is described as practising the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta i.e., Viṣṇu and Rudra. The temple that she had erected was for Tripuruṣa i.e., Viṣṇu, Brahma and Śankara. This interesting lady had not only made a synthesis of Hindu cults but also of all the main religious movements of the time, viz., Buddhism, Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaivism".[4] This is an outstanding illustration—though, of course, an exception—of the

---

[1] Ibid, pp. 272-5.

[2] Ibid, 273. It is also held that Amoghavarṣa was not a Jaina at all; cf. Govind Pai: Nṛpatungana Matavicāra (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike, Vol. XII, No. 4).

[3] Ibid. 273.

[4] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 273, I. A. XVIII, 274,

extent to which the people of Karnāṭaka felt the urge for synthesis and harmony in religious and social matters. "Another document belonging to the same century opens with a laudation of Jina, followed immediately by that of Viṣṇu. The inscription informs us that at the desire of the king, the Lord Nāgavarma caused to be built a temple of Jina, Viṣṇu, Iśvara and the saints. What a clear example of wide toleration! A still more interesting case is to be found recorded in the Dambaḷ stone inscription from Dhārwār district belonging to the 11th century. The donors were the followers of a Śaiva sect, called Balanju, the grant drafted by them opens with a salutation to Jaina Munīndras, followed by another to the Buddhist Goddess Tārā and the purpose of the charity was to provide funds for a temple of Tārā and Buddha".[1]

The traditional religion of the Hoysaḷas was Jainism but they became enthusiastic supporters of, if not converts to, Rāmānuja faith from the time of Viṣṇuvardhana. Their regard for Jainism remained unabated all the same. In the Hoysaḷa age, an unusually large number of beautiful temples and bastis were built by the kings, their generals and ministers; and royal patronage never failed the activities of any religious order whatsoever. There can be no better example of their genuine spirit of tolerance than the fact that in their capital Haḷebīḍu, Jinamandiras were erected

---

[1] A. S. Āltekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, p. 274. It may be noted here that Vīrabaṇanjus were at first Bauddhas and Jainas (Mr. S. Srīkaṇṭhaśastri). I. A. IV, p. 181 and I. A. X, p. 188. For many more illustrations on the subject cf. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 274-7.

side by side with the world-famous temples of Hoysaḷeśvara and Kedāreśvara.

The feudatory princes in the different empires lived up to the magnificent traditions of tolerance, which their overlords had been following consistantly. We have an edifying example of their policy in the time of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, who were the vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Gaṇḍarāditya of the 11th century was the most famous prince in the Śilāhāra line and his very name shows that he was a Kannaḍiga, as it is the compound of Gaṇḍara and Āditya, meaning "the sun among heroes" (Gaṇḍara being the genitive plural form of Gaṇḍa, a Kannaḍa word for a hero). He is described as having fed a hundred thousand Brahmins at Prayāga (near Kolhapur) and further "he built a Jaina temple at Ajara, a village in the Kolhapur district (now known as Ajre) and constructed a large tank, called after him Gaṇḍasamudra or "the sea of Gaṇḍa" at Irukuḍi in the Miraj district (most probably it is the present Rukaḍi near Kolhapur) and on its margin, placed idols of Iśwara or Śiva, Buddha and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land".[1] It is indeed extraordinary that Gaṇḍarāditya should have assumed such a liberal attitude towards all the religions and sects of the day and tried to unify them, despite their apparent conflict with each other. This policy was, as we know, pursued by his successors, one of whom "gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples".[2]

---

[1] R. G. Bhandārkar: The Early History of the Deccan, p. 172. [2] Ibid, p. 173.

CHAPTER VIII

In the Vijayanagara epoch, the very air was surcharged with the spirit of the essential unity of and consideration for all castes and creeds. It was the principle and policy of the Vijayanagara kings which created this atmosphere of religious catholicity. We learn to our great delight and amazement what the very first rulers of Vijayanagara like Harihara I and Bukkarāya achieved by way of promoting the harmony and the happiness of the people. Inscriptions tell us with heart-felt gratitude that "Bukkarāya on comming to the throne eclipsed all past and future kings. When he was reigning, the earth brought forth abundantly, all troubles ceased, the people were happy and wealth increased".[1] It was this very Bukkarāya, who brought about the reconciliation between the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavas in 1388 A. D. The Śravaṇabeḷgola inscription, which is placed in a basti and which relates this account, is one of the most sublime pieces among the epigraphic records in Karnāṭka indicating religious tolerance. It deserves to be read and re-read by all lovers of Indian culture. The original is in simple Kannaḍa and we are giving below a translation of some relevant portion of the same: "Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and Bhaktas (Vaiṣṇavas), the Bhavyajanas (the Jainas) of all the Nāḍus....having made petition to Bukkarāya about the injustice done by the Bhaktas, the king taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen Nāḍus, including all the

[1] E. C. Vol. V, part I, Introduction, p. XXVIII and cn 256.

Ācāryas of the places....and declaring (at the same time) that there was no difference between the Vaiṣṇava Darśana (or faith) and the Jaina Darśana, (decreed as follows)—this Jaina Darśana is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the Kalaśa (or Vase). If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina Darśana through the Bhaktas, the Vaiṣṇavas will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their (own Darśana). The Śrivaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a Śāsana in all the Bastis of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jaina Darśana. The Vaiṣṇavas and the Jainas are one (body): they must not be viewed as different.[1] This is the main text of "the admirable epigraph, that will stand for all time as a monument of the most large-hearted religious tolerance as preached and practised in Karnāṭaka. It should serve as a lesson to the

[1] E. C. Vol. II, p. 146 (English translation) cf. sb 344 for the original inscription.

" ವೈಷ್ಣವ ದರ್ಶನಕ್ಕೆಊ ಜೈನ ದರ್ಶನಕ್ಕೆಊ ಭೇದವಿಲ್ಲನೆಂದು
ರಾಯನು ವೈಷ್ಣವರ ಕೈಯ್ಯಲು ಜೈನರ ಕೈಪಿಡಿದು ಕೊಟ್ಟು
ಯೀ ಜೈನ ದರ್ಶನಕ್ಕೆ ಪೂರ್ವಮರಿಯಾದೆಯಲು ಪಂಚ
ಮಹಾ ವಾದ್ಯಂಗಳೂ ಕಳಶಉ ಸಲುಉದು ಜೈನ ದರ್ಶನಕ್ಕೆ
ಭಕ್ತರ ದೆಸೆಯಿಂದ ಹಾನಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಾದರೂ ವೈಷ್ಣವ ಹಾನಿ-
ವೃದ್ಧಿಯಾಗಿ ಪಾಲಿಸುವರು ಯೀ ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯಲು ಯಲ್ಲಾ
ರಾಜ್ಯದೊಳಗುಳ್ಳಂತಹ ಬಸ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಶ್ರೀವೈಷ್ಣವರು ಶಾಸನವ
ನಟ್ಟು ಪಾಲಿಸುವರು ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಯಾಗಿ ವೈಷ್ಣವ-
ಸಮಯಉ ಜೈನ ದರ್ಶನವ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಹೆಉ
ವೈಷ್ಣವರೂ ಜೈನರೂ ವೊಂದು ಭೇದವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಲಾಗದು ".

warring castes and creeds of India at present and prompt them to achieve that fundamental unity and kinship, which is the soul of Indian culture. It deserves to be noted that the Jaina and the Śrīvaiṣṇava are creeds, which are not in agreement with each other in several vital aspects of their philosophy and code of conduct. It is not that Bukkarāya was unaware of so patent a fact as this. Yet he declared that there was no difference between the two faiths and that the members of both the communities were one body and should not be viewed as different. That clearly shows that he had realised the essential unity of all religions, which the Vedic seers had discerned and which of late Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa preached by his own practice in the last century. The Jaina faith, though different in its tenets and practices, is as much a way of life as the Vaiṣṇava faith, leading to peace and happiness, which is the one goal of all human endeavour. This is the spirit, which informed that great utterance of the famous king of Karnāṭaka.

The successor of Bukkarāya was his son, Harihara II, who maintained the glorious traditions of his father. The invocatory verses to an inscription of his time, probably copied from older sources, reveal the spirit of synthetic understanding, that was characteristic of the age. After salutations to both the Gods, Keśava and Śiva, at the beginning, there occurs the following stanza :—

ಯಂ ಶೈವಾಸ್ಸಮುಪಾಸತೇ ಶಿವ ಇತಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇತಿ ವೇದಾನ್ತಿನೋ |
ಬೌದ್ಧಾ ಬುದ್ಧ ಇತಿ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಪಟವಃ ಕರ್ತೇತಿ ನೈಯಾಯಿಕಾಃ ||
ಅರ್ಹಶ್ಚೇತಿಹ ಜೈನಶಾಸನಮಿತಿ ಕರ್ಮೇತಿ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಕಾಃ
(ಅರ್ಹನ್ನಿತ್ಯಥ ಜೈನಶಾಸನರತಾಃ ಕರ್ಮೇತಿ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಕಾಃ |)
ಸೋಽಯಂ ವೋ ವಿದಧಾತು ವಾಂಛಿತಫಲಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಕೇಶವೇಶಸ್ಸದಾ ||

(Nagari transliteration given at the end of the book)

(He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedāntin as Brahma, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas skilled in proof as Kartā, the followers of the Jaina Śāsana as Arhan, the Mīmāmsakas as Karma—may that God Keśava ever grant your desires).[1] From the verses that follow, we make out that God Keśava invoked here is God Cennakeśava of the famous temple at Belūr. It is evident that the writer of this epigraph is a Vaiṣṇavite, being a great devotee of God Cennakeśava and looking upon him as the highest deity. But we should view it as revealing a freedom from narrowness, a freedom that is extraordinary for a person of orthodox leaning in those times. Viewed as such, it clearly denotes that the consciousness was growing upon the people of different sects in Karnāṭaka that the God they worshipped and invoked was the one God of all human beings, whatever their caste are creed. This consciousness was particularly keen in the Vijayanagara times,

---

[1] E. C. Vol. V, bl 3. This verse is said to have been taken from 'Prabodhacandrodaya' of Kṛṣṇamiśra from Śākalyamalya's work. The stanza in Prabodhacandrodaya, that appears to be the original of the above stanza, is given below. It will be seen that there is a good deal of difference between the two in respect of content and style.

ಜ್ಯೋತಿಃ ಶಾಂತಮನಂತಮದ್ವಯಮಜಂ ತತ್ತದ್ಗುಣೋನ್ಮೀಲನಾ ।
ದ್ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇತ್ಯಚ್ಯುತ ಇತ್ಯುಮಾಪತಿರಿತಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತೂಯತೇಽನೇಕಧಾ ॥
ತೈಸ್ಸ್ವೈರೇವ ಸದಾಗಮೈಃ ಶ್ರುತಿಮುಖೈರ್ನಾನಾಪಥಪ್ರಸ್ಥಿತೈ- ।
ರ್ಗಮ್ಯೋಽಸೌ ಜಗದೀಶ್ವರೋ ಜಲನಿಧಿರ್ವಾರಾಂ ಪ್ರವಾಹೈರಿವ ॥

(V Act. st. 9)

(Nagari transliteration given at the end of the book)

when unity was the crying need of the hour. The close association of the people of all creeds, Vedic and even non-Vedic, during the several centuries and the religious policy of the kings of Karnāṭaka were largely instrumental in creating synthetic understanding and unifying all the sections of society in Karnāṭaka. The good relations, which the Vijayanagara kings tried to maintain between the Hindus and the Mohammadens place in bold relief their policy of religious toleration, chiefly when we remember that the whole history of the Empire is a long record of hostilities between the rulers of both the communities. This clearly shows that the quarrel of the great Hindu Empire was not with the religion or the people of their Mohammaden enemies but with their policy of religious and political exploitation. It is true that the average citizen of Vijayanagara could not have always made such a nice distinction and there might have been occasional conflicts of a communal nature. But the broadbased policy of the Empire put an effective check on all the intransigent activities of its subjects. As has been remarked "the Hindu rulers gave concrete expression to their desire to promote good feelings with their avowed enemies in their mode of receiving foreign ambassadors, in the aid which they gave the Mohammadens against their own enemies, in their willingness to enlist foreigners, and finally, in promoting the cause of Islām in their Empire". [1]

We need not go into the details of political history in order to prove the veracity of this statement. It may

[1] B. A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, p. 396.

only be remarked here that the policy of tolerance was sometimes dictated by considerations of political tact as when Mohammadens were enlisted in the Hindu army and provided with quarters in the capital. Again, mosques were built for their religious services and Rāmarāya "caused a Korān to be placed before him when they came to pay their respects, which enabled them to do so without a breach of the ordinance of their religion".[1] We may note here that "the Mohammaden kings of course reciprocated this by an equal liberal policy towards the Hindus".[2] Thus from the time of Vijayanagara onwards, a truely accommodating spirit began to grow among both the communities with the result that today, in South India, particularly in Karnāṭaka, the untutored masses live in amity and good-will and show a general readiness to reconcile their differences. It is no exaggeration to say that the tendency to create disturbances on the communal score is less in evidence in the South than in the North. Sometimes, the Hindus and the Mohammadens worship at the same shrine as at Yamanūr in Dhārwār district and Bābā Buḍangiri in Mysore.

On a review of the history of religious tolerance in historical Karnāṭaka, it must be recognised that a very essential and noble tradition had been handed down to modern Karnāṭaka for being relived and held up as a model for the rest of India. In tracing that history, though we appear to have laid emphasis on the brighter side, we are not unmindful of a number of other factors, which might have played their part. For instance, the solicitude

---

[1] Ibid, p. 411. [2] Ibid, p. 409.

of the rulers for the different religions in their territories, might have been, at times due to a utilitarian desire to placate all sections of society or due to a mad craze for popularity or expediency under compelling circumstances. But as a rule, it must be borne in mind that religious tolerance was a matter of broad-minded state policy based on sound principles. The sincerity and the magnanimity with which this policy was carried into practice rested on the personality of the ruler concerned and the general attitude of the Government. The personality and the attitude were both present in a larger degree during the Vijayanagara period than ever before. As regards religious persecution or communal conflict, we have but a few examples to cite. It was a Śaiva king of the Coḻa dynasty who overran the Raṭṭa and Beḻvoḻa country in Karnāṭaka in the 11th century and sacked the towns and set fire to some Jaina temples, playing great havoc among the population.[1] In the reign of the Kalacūri prince Bijjaḻa, a severe clash seems to have occured between the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas, though definite historical data are not yet available on the points. In general, the country was free from any kind of molestation on account of religion. It did not, however, preclude the possibility of religious controversies taking place, ending sometimes in heart-burning and wordy warfare, threatening to take a serious turn. The kings might, naturally, have been partial and offered concessions to members of the sect to which they themselves belonged. Religious leaders also might

[1] E. I. XVI, 73 and E. I. XII, 296. & Robert Sewell: The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, pp. 57–8, 73.

have taken undue advantage of the concessions granted to them and sought to deprive other faiths of their legitimate rights. This tendency is illustrated by the Jaina and Śrīvaiṣṇava dispute, which Bukkarāya handled in the most exemplary manner, as mentioned before.

The spirit of tolerance is one of the fundamental traits of Indian culture. We know from Indian history that Aśoka was the earliest and the most famous king, who preached and practised "toleration for the creeds of other people".[1] Nevertheless, the claim may be made on behalf of Karnāṭaka that the continuity and the ardour with which religious tolerance was practised by all the ruling dynasties of the country and the degree to which it has left its indelible mark on the life of the people even today should go to establish the uniqueness of Karnāṭaka in the matter of creating harmony among all sections of people.

CHAPTER IX

The cult of Bhakti forms a vital part of the religious culture of Karnāṭaka. It therefore requires to be treated independently so as to enable us to appreciate its valuable contribution to Indian culture. It is noteworthy that the cult has contributed not a little to the multiplicity of faiths and variety of religious life which, as we have observed, are characteristic of this province. The earliest phase of the religion of ancient Karnāṭaka was theism and animism, which have not altogether disappeared from the life of the

[1] V. A. Smith : The Oxford History of India, p. 107.

masses even today. Next, the Aryan introduced his Vedic faith, modified by the cult of Bhakti. The spread of Jainism somewhat arrested its growth for centuries together. But it leapt into prominence with the successive rise of the different religious schools like those of Rāmānuja, Basava and Madhva. The Harihara cult of Bhakti and the Bhāgavata tradition of the Smārta sect also grew in importance in the general enlivening atmosphere of Bhakti, created by the great schools mentioned above. The philosophical background of these schools and sects came to be varied in character though their faith in the devotional approach to the highest reality remained the same. The Harihara cult is influenced by the Vedānta doctrine of the Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas, whereas the Bhāgavata sect of the Smārtas accepts the Advaita philosophy of Śankara. The Rāmānuja philosophy is Viśiṣṭādvaita i.e., qualified monism, the Vīraśaiva is Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita i.e., monism qualified by Śakti and the Mādhva is pure 'Dvaita' or dualism. It is a great thing to notice that notwithstanding such diversity in philosophical doctrine and code of conduct, the followers of these schools could rally round the banner of Bhakti and proclaim the essential unity of mankind. In particular the emphasis which most of these schools place on Bhakti and Karma rather than on Jñāna alone indicates in clear terms the trend of religious culture, which they fostered in the Kannaḍa country, It is a life of detachment, not a renunciation of life, which the average Kannaḍiga has come to look upon as the goal of his existence on earth. The transformation brought about by this view-point in the ascetic systems of thought, like the Śānkara and the Jaina, shows its powerful influence on the generality of the people. In

spite of his doctrine of absolue Advaita, Śankara assigned a place to worldly truth, which presupposes duality and concedes Bhakti as a means to the higher end of knowledge. The Bhāgavatas of the Smārta sect take their stand on this logic. But, actually, their life is guided by the ideals of Karma and Bhakti, as is quite natural and human.

We shall now proceed to discuss the influence of Bhakti on Jainism and discuss thereafter the influence of Jainism on some of the faiths prevalent in Karnāṭaka. It should be remembered here that we are concerned with the interaction of the Bhakti movement and Jainism as they obtained in Karnāṭaka, a discussion of their form and feature in other parts of India being outside our purview. Strictly speaking, Jainism is a religion of self-help in the matter of spiritual progress leading to final emancipation, But it is one of the most striking changes in the Jaina faith in practice that, in Karnāṭaka, it came to be converted gradually from ascetic rigour to devotional surrender. The Jina Tīrthankara, who is the emancipated soul, became, to the Jaina devotee, a deity equivalent to Śiva or Viṣṇu of the Bhakti cult. He was invoked for liberating the worshipper from the shackles of Karma or the worries of life. The common masses in the Jaina community may have gone further and believed Jina to be the creator and sustainer of the universe, since it is natural that the most human urge for accepting some God as creator and for offering prayers to Him for personal redemption, should get the better of that cold and logical denial of God as creator and saviour, which characterises Jaina doctrine and which had its desired effect at the early stage of its advent in the Kannaḍa country. Epigraphic evidence clearly reflects the working of

the mass mind through the writer of the day.[1] This devotional and theistic growth was due in later times to two things, firstly, the alluring atmosphere of Bhakti in the South in general and in Karnāṭaka in particular and secondly, the conservatism of the new converts to the Jaina faith, who would not easily give up the theistic beliefs and practices of their original faith. Since the days of Rāmānuja, the songs of the Bhāgavata religion had so filled the air that the Jainas had to appreciate the emotional value of Bhakti all the more and keep abreast of the times in their own religious life. An evidence of this comes from an epigraph at Tumkūr, in which " in an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jina is described in 1151 as the Universal Spirit, who is Śiva, Dhātṛ (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu ".[2] The competitive spirit was also revealed in its vying with other Hindu faiths in respect of the

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p. 143 and Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 106, which contains the passage ಜಯತ್ಯತಿಶಯ ಜಿನ್ಯೈಭಾರ್ಗಸುರಃ ಸುರವನ್ದಿತಃ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಜಿನಪತಿಃ ಸೃಷ್ಟೇರಾದೇಃ ಕರ್ತ್ತಾ ದಯೋದಯಃ ।

'Sṛṣṭerādeh Kartā' could be interpreted to mean "Ṛṣabhadeva who made rules in Karmabhūmi and not creater of the world". One fails to understand why a less ambiguous phrase was not used to convey the desired meaning. Cf. also JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 239.

[2] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 203; E.C. XII, tm. 9: ಜಯನ್ತಿ ಯಸ್ಯಾವದತೋऽಪಿ ಭಾರತೀವಿಭೂತಯಸ್ತೀರ್ಥಕೃತೋऽಪಿ ನಾಹ್ರಿತೇ ಶಿವಾಯ ಧಾತ್ರೇ ಸುಗತಾಯ ವಿಷ್ಣವೇ ಜಿನಾಯ ತಸ್ಮೈ ಸಕಲಾತ್ಮನೇ ನಮಃ ।

(Nagari transliteration given at the end of the book)

erection and maintenance of temples. It is true that idols and temples were a part of Jainism from very early times. But the form they took and the spirit which animated them in Karnāṭaka were more or less in line with the theistic institution of worship. We come across "numerous Jaina grants" mentioning "acts of piety either in the shape of building or endowing temples for their upkeep, repairs or carrying on the eightfold worship of the Gods".[1] Devotional lyrics have been composed by Jaina poets in Kannaḍa on Candranātha, Gommaṭa etc. They are as sincere and prayerful as the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava songs.[2] Stanzas in praise of one Tīrthankara or the other occur in the course of Jaina Purāṇas in Kannaḍa like the 'Ādi Purāṇa' of Pampa and the "Rāmacandracarita Purāṇa" of Nāgacandra. It is not always that such verses essentially depart from Jaina ideology. But some of them do tend towards the devotional ardour, that is characteristic of the Bhakti school and they effect a nice blending of the Jaina doctrine

---

"Victorious, though without words, are the sayings uttered by the Tīrthankaras. Obeisance to the universal spirit Jina, who is Śiva, Dhatṛ (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu". In Kannaḍa verse, that follows here, the blessings of all these Gods are invoked.

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p. 143.

ಜಿನಪತಿ ಕೂರ್ತ್ತು ಬೇಳ್ಪ ಸುಖಸಂಪದಮಂ ಹರನೊಲ್ದು ಕೀರ್ತಿಯಂ |
ಕನಕಸರೋದ್ಭವಂ ವರಚಿರಾಯುವನಿಂಬಿನಲೀಗಳಚ್ಯುತಂ ||
ಮನವೊಸೆದೊಪ್ಪುತಿರ್ಪ ಸಿರಿಯಂ ವರಬುದ್ಧ ಜಯಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಂ |
ಮನಸಿಜರೂಪ ಬಾಚಿ ನಿನಗೀಗೆ ಶಶಾಂಕ ಕುಳಾದ್ರಿಯುಳ್ಳಿನಂ |

[2] R. Narasimhācārya: Kavicarite, Vol. p. 128 and 361, 280.

with the emotional appeal of Bhakti. For instance, stanzas two to eleven of the fifth Āśvasa in Nāgacandra's 'Rāmāyaṇa' particularly the line therein "Sakaladehige nīne śaraṇ Jīneśvara", (meaning 'you alone are the refuge of all mortals') may be noted here. In the "Jīvandharcarite" of Bhāskara, who is a Jaina poet dealing with a Jaina theme, many examples of the influence of Vedantic metaphysics and Bhakti ideology are to be found. One of such is stanza No. 6 of Sandhi 12 in which the poet says, "will this ocean of life dry up without a repetition of the name of the Omniscient?" (Sarvajña nāmasmaraṇeindallade bhavāmbhorāśi battugume) a notion, peculiar to the Bhakti school and hardly admissible in strict Jaina doctrine. In view of such developments in the Jaina faith it has been said that "the theory of Karma, as well, underwent considerable modification when once the Jina was invested with divine grace, and he that was once but a supreme example of conduct became in course of time a saviour of souls by the direct power of divine interference".[1] Though there is an element of truth in this remark, we do not think that Jaina theory as such was considerably modified by the interaction of the Bhakti cult. It is figurative language of devotion

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p. 144. Prof. A. N. Upādhye holds the view that there is no evidence for this statement. According to him, the Jaina theory of Karma starts and has grown in such a manner that there is no scope for outside influence; and there is nothing corresponding to it in any of our Indian systems. Some common words are there but their meaning is different.

that is often misleading. However, it is true that a genuine element of Bhakti was introduced into the Jaina doctrine in practice and an effort was made to reconcile it with the relentless theory of Karma. Here is, therefore, a contribution of the Bhakti cult to the progress of Jainism in Karnāṭaka.

It is now apposite to refer to the valuable contribution which Jainism has made to the other faiths in Karnāṭaka by its principle of Ahimsā. The different forms of himsā or injury to life, from the refined form of vedic sacrifice to the barbaric methods of animal and human sacrifice, were a common sight in the early life of Karnāṭaka. Jainism launched a vigorous attack against all of them and preached unqualified non-violence. Of course, the Jaina ruler and the Jaina soldier were allowed, as householders, as against monks, to violate the strict principles of their faith in their actions. But the good that accrued on the whole to society at large can never be too greatly commended. It does not mean that violence in the name of religion or superstition has completely disappeared today. But it has a serious set-back owing to the splendid achievements of Jainism during several centuries of missionary activity. Buddhism also had its due share of credit in this work. The effect of all this was visible to a degree on all the three Vedantic schools, those of Śankara, Madhva and Rāmānuja, who thrust the institution of sacrifice into the background, each in his own way. Madhva, in particular, recommended that if a sacrifice were to be performed, only an animal, made of flour, should be used for purposes of oblation. The Vīraśaiva creed not only ruled out the institution of sacrifice from its code of conduct but also stood wholeheartedly for complete 'ahimsā'. We should

also note that "Jainism has been largely responsible for making Karnāṭaka, in the main, vegetarian and 'ahimsā' still forms the substratum of the Indian character as a whole".[1]

The task of remodelling the Vedic religion so as to suit changing conditions was thus performed by ahimsā beyond any doubt. But it was the cult of Bhakti also which played an equally significant role in this respect. By gradual stages the emotional culture of Bhakti broadened the outlook of the Brahmin, who was generally caste-ridden, and prepared him for willing compromises in his rigid code of behaviour. The Bhakti cult showed that human being was eligible for emancipation if he were pure in mind, word and deed. The value of merit was established over that of birth. The Dāsas and Śaraṇas of Karnāṭaka, of whatever caste, creed or sex they might be, impressed on orthodox society the significance and the value of inner culture rather than that of outward form. Thus the Brahmanism of the early days was refashioned into a less rigid formalism, accompanied by the theism of the Vedantic sects of Karnāṭaka. It has been observed that "Bhakti, that transformed Brahmanism into Hinduism, may therefore be regarded as an important contribution of South India to Indian culture, not in reference to its origin but in regard to the important features of its further development".[2] We heartily endorse this remark with the addition that

---

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture p. 150.

[2] Kṛṣṇaswāmi Ayyangār: Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. VI (Preface).

Karnāṭaka also has contributed its share towards the said transformation in its cultural history.

The contribution of, the Bhakti cult in Karnāṭaka to similar cults outside Karnāṭaka is worth a careful study. The Vīraśaiva faith, which drew mainly upon the Śaivism of the South and formulated its own system, became an abiding force in the Śaiva community of the South. It is astonishing to discover its possible influence on the Mānabhāus or Mahānubhāvas, a Vaiṣṇava sect in Mahārāṣṭra, "who claim a high antiquity for their system but acknowledge that their organization dates form the 13th century".[1] Some of the features of this sect, which are common to those of the Vīraśaivas, are that the Mānabhāus are heterodox, strictly sectarian 'recognising Kṛṣṇa alone' like 'Vīraśaivas worshipping Śiva alone,'....'Both sects refused to worship images, though each worships a symbol of its own god', 'both sects are strictly vegetarian, both bury their dead and in both the ascetics are of far more importance than the temples....Any caste-Hindu is welcomed as a full member in either sect if he is willing to undergo initiation'.[2] It is, therefore, concluded that "as the Vīraśaivas are about a century older than the Mānabhāus, it is possible that the latter may have followed the example of the former sect in some points....The unexplained figure of Dattātreya hovers shadowy and indistinct behind Mānabhāu history. The sect claims him as the source of its system."[3] It is indeed a strange affinity, that binds the two

[1] J. N. Farquhar: An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 247.

[2] Ibid, p. 247. [3] Ibid, p. 247–48.

sects, though their gods are different. It is said that these characteristics are probably to be explained as due mainly to racial and local facts, partly to the influence of Rāmānuja."[1] Looking into the history of the sect, we find that there is not the least available evidence either for the influence of the Vīraśaiva or that of the Rāmānuja faith. It was Cakradhara, who under the influence of Govinda Prabhu or Guṇḍama Prabhu, founded the sect and one Nāgadeva organised it. The sect combines Kṛṣṇabhakti with the abolition of the caste system and the adoption of the path of renunciation, open to all, including women. For several reasons, it grew unpopular in the enlightened circles in Mahārāṣṭra. The resemblances to the Lingāyat creed pointed out by Farquhar may have been merely accidental. It is also opined that the sect owes its Bhakti element to Mādhva influence[2]. There is no doubt that the whole subject is interesting and would repay a thorough study[3].

The influence of Mādhva philosophy and the Mādhva school of devotion on Caitanya and his sect in Bengal is noteworthy and deserves a detailed reference here. According to all the biographers of Caitanya, he met during a pilgrimage to Gayā one Iśvarapuri, who gave him the Kṛṣṇa Mantra of 10 syllables and initiated him in Kṛṣṇabhakti.

---

[1] Ibid, p. 247. [2] L. R. Pangarkar: Marāṭhi Vānmayācā Itihās, Vol I, p. 413.

[3] The name Guṇḍama Prabhu sounds Kannaḍa, being a short form of Guṇḍamma Prabhu and it remains to be seen whether the influence of the faiths of Karnāṭaka was exercised on this sect through this personality.

This brought about a complete transformation in Caitanya and he returned home as a God intoxicated soul and a great Bhakta.[1] Vaiṣṇava tradition in Bengal has it that Iśvarapuri, who was the spiritual guide of Caitanya, was "a Vaiṣṇava monk of the order of Madhvācārya and a disciple of that Mādhavendra Puri, who had first introduced the cult of Bhakti for Kṛṣṇa among the Sanyāsis".[2] But Iśvarapuri belonged to an Advaitic order of monks and modern historical research is hard put to it to reconcile the said tradition with this glaring fact. On a study of all the relevant evidence it is held that Iśvarapuri was a follower of Mādhva sect only so far as Bhaktimārga was concerned and "there are not sufficient proofs that Iśvarapuri was at any time imbued with purely Mādhva ideas"[3] and "so far as Caitanya himself was concerned, the influence of the special teaching of Madhva upon him was nil".[4] The influence of Mādhva philosophy as such is said to belong to a later date. We are told that "till the days of Jīvagosvāmin, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas were only partially influenced by the writings of Mādhva and his followers. It was from the 18th century that this influence became complete and wholesale—the two great writers of this period being (1) Rādhādāmodara, a Kānyakubja Brahmin and (2) his disciple Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa".[5]

---

[1] S. K. De: Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement, p. 57-8.

[2] J. N. Sarkar: A Short Life of Caitanya (in "Caitanya's Pilgrimages and teachings"), p. xi.

[3] B. N. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarma: Mādhva Influence on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, (Indian Culture, Vol. IV, No. 4), p. 430.

[4] Ibid, pp. 431. [5] Ibid, p. 432.

Kavikarṇapūra, one of the earliest biographers of Caitanya, gives a genealogy in his 'Gouragaṇoddeśadīpikā,' tracing the descent of Iśvarapuri and Caitanya right from Madhva ; and Baladeva of the 18th century, quoting this very genealogy, affirms that Caitanya belongs to the Mādhva Sampradāya.[1] It is, however, contended by Dr. S. K. De that neither Iśvarapuri nor Caitanya had anything to do with Madhva and his Sampradāya. He says, " the evidence adduced in favour of this assumption is hardly satisfactory, and there is nothing to shew that there was any direct Mādhva influence on Caitanyaism in the earlier stages of its development.[2]....While Madhva himself is seldom cited, Mādhvaism or affiliation to the Mādhva sect is never acknowledged in the several authoritative lives of Caitanya, nor in the canonical works of the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.[3].... The indications are strong that Caitanya formally belonged to the Daśanāmi order of Śankara Sanyāsins, even though the ultimate form which he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Śankara's Advaitavāda.[4] ....It is only when we come to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Mādhva affiliation is distinctly and authoritatively claimed.....The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, for some reason or other, thought convenient to acknowledge themselves as Mādhvas".[5] We learn that this view

---

[1] Ibid, p. 434, containing Baladeva's following statement in his commentary on the Siddhānta Ratna :—ಅಥಾತ್ಮನಃ ಶ್ರೀಮಧ್ವಾನ್ವಯದೀಕ್ಷಿತಭಗವತ್ಕೃಷ್ಣಚೈತನ್ಯಮತಸ್ಥ(ತ)ತ್ತ್ವಮಾಹ ಆನನ್ದೇತಿ ।

(Nagari transliteration given at the end of the book)

[2] S. K De: Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement, p. 10.

[3] Ibid, p. 11. [4] Ibid, p. 12. [5] Ibid, p. 17.

is finding some support but is also meeting with strong opposition from certain traditional quarters in Bengal.

Considering both sides of the question, one must admit that it is necessary to gather more facts in order to establish one position or the other. Traditions cannot always be relied upon; nor can they be dismissed summarily. It is particularly essential that a historical and exhaustive study should be undertaken of Madhva, his disciples and his Sampradāya when more facts may come to light and shape our judgement. In the meanwhile, one or two points deserve to be noted in this connection. We understand that Jayadhvajatīrtha, the disciple of Rājendratīrtha in the Mādhva line of descent, travelled in North India and founded a branch of his Maṭh in Bengal. We also know that Viṣṇupuri is described as a disciple of Jayadharma, who must be the same as Jayadhvaja. Connecting these facts with the genealogy mentioned before, we might tentatively agree with Mr. B. N. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarma, who says, "Most probably it was this Viṣṇupuri who was the real father of the Bhakti movement in the North and the teachers Lakṣmīpati, Mādhavendrapuri and Iśvarapuri were descended from him and of these Iśvarapuri was probably contemporaneous with Vyāsatīrtha (the well-known Vyāsarāya of the Vijayanagara period) and presumably well-acquainted with him". [1] It may be inferred on this basis that Viṣṇupuri might have derived his inspiration from Jayadhvaja, his Mādhvaguru in matters of Bhaktimārga, though his philosophic leanings were otherwise. The Mādhva

[1] B. N. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarma: Mādhva Influence on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (Indian Culture, Vol. IV No. 4, p. 431).

influence might havs become more pronounced in the time of Vyāsarāya, who was a great scholar and devotee and was a contemporary of both Iśvarapuri and Caitanya.[1]

It is significant to observe hear that the Bhakti strain of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa appears to have gone to Bengal from Karnāṭaka, much earlier than the controversial contribution of the Mādhva school. The 'Gītagovinda' of Jayadeva, the only remarkable work of devotion before Caitanya, was composed in the reign of the Vaiṣṇavite Sena kings towards the end of the 12th century. The Senas were admittedly Karnāṭa. Dr. S. K. De says, "Some are of opinion that the advent of the Karnāṭas in Bengal with the Cedi Prince Karṇadeva introduced the Śrīmadbhāgavata emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India; and it is noteworthy that the Sena Kings themselves, who were in all probability Vaiṣṇavas, are described in their inscriptions as Karnāṭa Kṣatrias".[2] He also writes in a later context, "The roots of the Bhakti movement, which Mādhavendrapuri is said to have started in Bengal and which Caitanya carried forward and definitely shaped, must be sought in such traditions as originated

[1] "Caitanya's biographer Kavikarṇapūra speaks reverently of the three great masterpieces of Vyāsarāya as the Viṣṇu Samhitā" (ವ್ಯಾಸತೀರ್ಥಸ್ಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯೋ ಯಶ್ಚಕ್ರೇ ವಿಷ್ಣು ಸಂಹಿತಾಂ।

(Nagari transliteration given at the end of the book)

Cf B. N. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarma: The Life and Works of Vyāsarāyasvāmi (Indian Culture Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 295).

[2] S. K. De: Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, p. 7.

from Śrīdhara's great commentary on the Śrīmadbhāgavata, which was accepted with much veneration by the Bengal school".[1] He may be thus taken to have traced the indirect influence of Karnāṭaka on Caitanya and his sect.

The contribution of the Rāmānuja school to the school of Bhakti in North India is already a recognised fact. Rāmānanda, who was fifth in descent from Rāmānuja as Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, lived during the greater part of the 14th century and founded the Rāmāvat sect. "His teaching was everywhere in the vernacular, and his followers wrote their hymns and other similar compositions in one or other of the various dialects of Hindi".[2] Kabīrdās and Mīrābāi were two of his eminent disciples. It has been claimed that "from Rāmānanda's time it was to the poor that the gospel was preached, and that in their own language".[3] Though this may be true of North India, we should not ignore the fact that the teaching of Bhakti in the language of the people originated at first in the South in the Tamiḻ land and then spread in Karnāṭaka through the Vacanas of the Vīraśaiva mystics and the songs of the devotees in Kannaḍa. It is not unlikely that Rāmānanda who was a native of Prayāga and who was widely travelled in India, might have caught the spirit of "preaching people in their own language" from the well-established traditions in the Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa lands.

---

[1] Ibid, p. 16.

[2] Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion, p. 571. (Under Rāmānanda).

[3] Ibid, p. 548. (Under Bhaktimārga).

The influence of the Bhakti cult of Karnāṭaka on the saints of Mahārāṣṭra is an admitted fact since Paṇḍharapura of today and the famous God Viṭṭhal of that place were acknowledged in Mahārāṣṭra as Kannaḍa, as early as the 13th century. It appears also that the Bhāgavata tradition of the Advaita sect, which had prevailed in Karnāṭaka since long, exerted a great influence on the Bhakti school of Mahārāṣṭra. We know of a Kannaḍa poet, Cauṇḍarāja by name (c. 13th cen.), who was a devotee of 'Paṇḍharirāya Abhaṅgaviṭṭhala' as he calls Him and a Bhāgavata of the above description. Bhakti has played a very momentous role in Karnāṭaka as a popularising and synthesising force in religious life. We shall deal with its roll as a popularising force in the chapter on Kannaḍa literature. As regards the other aspect, the Harihara school, which has been mentioned before, may be regarded as a genuine effort to synthesise the conflicting schools of devotion to Viṣṇu and Śiva, resulting in the construction of temples of Harihara and Śankaranārayaṇa, combining the images of both the deities.[1] The idea of the absence of any difference between Hari and Hara dates from the Purāṇas. But it spread rapidly in Karnāṭaka since early times and struck its roots deeply into the tradition of the province. Equal veneration for all the three deities Brahma, Śiva and Hari known as Trimūrtis, is found expressed in certain inscriptions[2] and in temples

[1] It is also pointed out that Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharapura and Venkaṭaramaṇa of Tirupati are idols, denoting the Harihara synthesis. Cf D.R. Bendre ; Sāhitya Sanśodhana, p. 158.

[2] E. C. VII, sk 125, 118 and R. Narasimhācārya : Śāsana Padya Mañjari, pp. 7, 12.

of that triad built in Agrahāras like the one of Perūr.[1] We find that many of the Brahmin poets like Rudrabhaṭṭa, Kumāra Vyāsa and Lakṣmīśa are sponsors of the Harihara synthesis, though their personal God is Viṣṇu. On the whole, it is justifiable to conclude that the contribution of Bhakti to Indian culture within and without Karnāṭaka is one of far-reaching significance, having touched the very springs of life and moulded the character and personality of the people.

CHAPTER X

The social life of Karnāṭaka may now be taken up for a brief study. It should be remembered at the outset that as in the rest of India, social life in this province is largely religious in spirit and form. That is why it could be referred to better as 'socio-religious life'. The urge behind all the activities of the Kannaḍiga, either at home or in society, is essentially religious in the sense that he yearns to please God or acquire merit by good deeds in the personal and social life, not merely to abide by the secular laws of society. We can get glimpses of this life in the rich storehouse of epigraphic and literary material, which has come down to us from a long past, though it must be admitted that we know it more in outline than in detail. The ideals, which were held up before the people and the examples of persons, who lived up to those ideals, have been known to us in profusion. Literary works also reflect the life of the people of the period

---

[1] I. A. XVIII, 273.

in which they were written, though the themes are generally legendary or historical, rarely contemporary. Through the allegorical treatment of these themes, it is at times possible to see the imperceptible effect of the varied life, throbbing round the poet, on his creative work. Sometimes, the poet himself openly declares that his object is to extol his royal patron as the hero of the epic under the guise of an old story. The first great poet of Karnāṭaka viz., Pampa of the 10th century A.D., has achieved his declared object of glorifying his patron and other heroes of his time through the story and the characters of the MBh. There were poets like Ranna, who followed in his foot-steps.

The ideals, which shaped the characters of the Kannaḍa people, were the loftiest that their leaders and poets could conceive of. They were the outcome of a synthetic vision trying always to reconcile apparent opposites. We, therefore, find that Tyāga i.e., renunciation and Bhoga i.e., enjoyment have both been preached in Karnāṭaka in their perfect balance. In his patriotic verses on Banavāsi occuring in his epic, Pampa has suggested this very ideal. He says that " they indeed are men, who are the abode of renunciation, enjoyment, musical talent, learning and culture and love of company ".[1] We can detect the same note of " seeing life as a whole " in the sayings of the Vīraśaiva mystics and the Vaiṣṇava singers who linked up Karma, Bhakti and even Jñāna properly and interpreted them as the essential ideals of human life. Ratnākaravarṇi, a great Jaina poet of the later Vijayanagara period, has created in his 'magnum

[1] Pampabhārata, 4–29. ಚಾಗದ ಭೋಗದಕ್ಕರದ ಗೇಯದ ಗೊಟ್ಟಿಯಲಂಪಿನಿಂಪುಗಳ್ಗಾಗರವಾದ ಮಾನಸರೆ ಮಾನಸರ್,

opus' in Kannaḍa, entitled 'Bharateśavaibhava' the character of the king Bharata, who symbolises the poet's ideal of an integrated life—a life, comprehending both Tyāga and Bhoga, Karma and Jñāna. The people of Karnāṭaka have always pitched their ambitions high in their social and religious life, in spite of the limitations of caste, creed and circumstance.

The most striking feature of the social life in Karnāṭaka is the spirit of accommodation and the feeling of affinity among people of all sections and levels of society. "Living long together they have learnt to defer forms of worship different from their own. By long practice, they have learnt that religion is mainly a personal matter".[1] The way, in which the people of a village or a town come together during a fair and offer hearty co-operation in corporate activities is indicative of the spirit behind it, which has become part of the Kannaḍa tradition. More about this aspect of life had been already said while speaking of civic life and religious tolerance.

We may now refer to certain virtues, which have contributed greatly to the building up of the personality of the Kannaḍiga since early days, virtues which have been his second nature. The most outstanding of these is the spirit of service and sacrifice, of giving one's best for social and religious service. It has been best described in an inscription as 'Parahitavṛtti' i.e., a natural attitude of doing good to others. It is a quality, which is ingrained in the cultural

---

[1] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 159.

being of Karnāṭaka and has manifested itself times without number in the activities of the people. Sometimes, this altruism may be influenced by the social urge for fame or the religious urge for Puṇya or merit. But it has been pure and sincere at its best. A noteworthy example is of one Ādigauṇḍa of the Hoysaḷa times, who built a tank, a town and a temple in the reign of Vīraballāḷa II. He is described thus in an epigraph : "He could not see the face of the hungry ; without caring for his own thirst or hunger, he fed them. Who was his equal ? Daily he gave milk to young children and food to the hungry, even in times of famine. Building tanks, providing for places of drinking water and planting groves—there was no other business which he loved to do than these". "His wife Nāgagauṇḍi joyfully gave food with her own hands to all visitors (or guests) even to the number of a thousand".[1] An ordinary village headman as Ādigauṇḍa was, he dedicated his life and energies to the service of society with an almost religious zeal. He typifies exactly the life of the Kannaḍa people, who strove to imitate their leaders in their own humble way. The description of a Moṭagauṇḍa strikes a similar note. "The tanks he built, the drinking places he provided, the temples he constructed and the groves he planted—do they not declare to us the glory that was Moṭagauṇḍa's ? ".[2] This is the kind of socio-religious life which the people of Karnāṭaka lived and which they made the hall-mark of their high culture.[3] Another

[1] E. C. V, bl 137. [2] E. C. XII, ck 31.

[3] Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike, Vol. XIV, No. 1, p. 31. In this inscription, Lakṣmīdhara, the chief minister of Devarāya I of Vijayanagara Empire, is described as

quality, that stands out prominently in the social history of Karnāṭaka is, as suggested before, the generosity and charity of the people. Under the influence of the religious movements of the province, the people learnt to look upon charity as part of their sacred duty to their country and their brethren. We have an extraordinarily large number of inscriptions and copper-plates in Karnāṭaka, which stand as monuments to the Kannaḍiga's virtue of charity. Most of them refer to the temples or bastis built and the gifts of land made for their maintenance. Whole towns were built by individuals and donated for the use of the public. Educational centres known as Agrahāras, Ghaṭikas and Maṭhas were created and provision was made for the teachers and the taught by permanent endowments. Kings, vassals, ministers, generals, merchants and even ordinary tailors and wage-earners gave of their best for the welfare of the land. Such munificence, displayed on a large number of occasions, is a very singular feature of the life in historical Karnāṭaka. It is indeed characteristic of this province that the land is strewn with innumerable epigraphs, mostly recording gifts of land, made to temples or bastis. The quality of charity has been always extolled in these epigraphs in a genuinely poetic vein, as in the description

---

having been taught the social virtues, referred to above, since his childhood on the very lap of his mother. The stanza runs thus:—

ಕೆರೆಯಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸು ಬಾವಿಯಂ ಸವೆಸು ದೇವಾಗಾರಮಂ ಮಾಡಿಸ |
ಜ್ಜರೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಿಲ್ಕಿದನಾಥರಂ ಬಿಡಿಸು ಮಿತ್ರರ್ಗಿಂಬುಕೆಯ್ ನಂಬಿದ |
ರ್ಗೆರವಟ್ಟಾಗಿರು ಶಿಷ್ಟರಂ ಪೊರೆ ಎನುತ್ತಿಂತೆಲ್ಲಮಂ ಪಿಂತೆ ತಾ |
ನೆರೆದಳ್ ಪಾಲೆರೆವಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕಿವಿಯೊಳ್ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಧರಾಮಾತ್ಯನಾ ॥

of Ereyanga as a person, who was like a cloud of gold, showering drops of coin on his supplicants. A certain merchant was known as Bhaṇḍināmbi since he used to give charity by the measure of a bhaṇḍi or cart. Several merchant princes are praised for their liberal gifts. Allied to the quality of charity, there are the virtues of a householder like hospitality and cordiality which characterise the poorest man in Karnāṭaka even today. It is not our desire to suggest that life in this province has been a paradise of perfection. But the point needs to be stressed that the ideals and the virtues, which were pointed out, have been like beacon-lights of culture to the Kannaḍa people, directing their lives at different levels of expression.

The social virtues, referred to so far, were fostered by the intellectual and moral leadership of the community, which the educational agencies of every period promoted. The best intellects of the day used to be trained in the best manner for rendering the highest service to society. Education was more intensive than extensive, as was the case everywhere in India. A comprehensive study of education, as it prevailed in historical Karnāṭaka, has yet to be made. Nevertheless, it may be interesting to know certain salient features of the same, that will go to make our picture of the heritage of Karnāṭaka as complete as possible. In the very early period of Karnāṭaka history, Sanskrit must have been taught in the Āśram or Pāṭhaśāla manner, the study of Vedic lore being of supreme importance. The advent of Jainism and Buddhism brought the study of Prakrits in its wake and it is certain that the Śātavāhana kings encouraged the study of Prakrit along with that of Sanskrit. A number of Vihāras or Buddhist

monasteries came into existence and made education perhaps less aristocratic but more religious. Centres of Jaina learning also sprang and gave impetus to the study of Kannaḍa alongside of Sanskrit and Prakrit, at least from the 4th and 5th century A. D. Thus educational activity became as varied as religious life itself. Some of the centres of higher education were the Agrahāra, the Brahmapuri, the Maṭha and the Ghaṭikā.[1] "The most important of these establishments was the Agrahāra, consisting of a community of learned Brahmins, whose profound scholarship attracted students from different places....It was here that people of diverse races and religions assembled. The Agrahāras, may, therefore, be said to have constituted the real universities of mediaeval India, the stadium generale or the schools of universal learning".[2] The surprisingly large number of Agrahāras in every century and the astonishing munificence of the state and the public that brought them into being or helped them to thrive is one of the commendable features of Karnāṭaka culture.[3] The Agrahāra was mostly a village, situated in natural surroundings and was a

[1] Agrahāra and Maṭha are explained presently in the course of this chapter. Brahmapuri is a part of a town or city, in which Brahmins lived, a kind of suburb for the privileged community. Education used to be provided in them almost on the lines of an Agrahāra. Ghaṭikā was a centre of higher education like Agrahāra defined as 'Colleges of learned men' and it could be situated in a city. Its distinction from an Agrahāra is not quite clear.

[2] G. M. Moraes: Kadambakula, p. 287.

[3] A. S. Āltekar: Education in Ancient India, p. 297.

complete unit by itself, a sort of a residential university centre, with free lodging and boarding for the taught in many cases. Tālagunda is one of the earliest Agrahāras that we know of, that comes under this category. Baḻḻigāme is that type of Agrahāra which grew into a town and developed into an important centre of culture. The subjects taught in an Agrahāra were Veda, Vedānta, Purāṇa, Smṛti, Darśana, Language, Literature, Poetics, Dramaturgy and the other fine arts. There was great scope for specialisation and unerring erudition. Great value was attached to retentiveness, ready wit and powers of debate and elocution in this system of education. " It must also be noted that the Agrahāras sometimes contained Maṭhas of Jainas and Buddhists. It is pleasant to relate that in spite of the religious differences that divided the inhabitants of the Agrahāras, there existed perfect amity and good-will among them ".[1] All the same, the Agrahāra along with Brahmapuri and Ghaṭika was a predominantly Brahmin institution. The Jaina and Śaiva centres of education grew up in the Bastis and Maṭhas, spread all over the Kannaḍa country, having about the same curriculum as that of the Agrahāras.[2] They naturally devoted themselves more to their religious studies along with a general education in Sanskrit or Kannaḍa ; but their characteristic contribution lies in the building up of a department of Kannaḍa studies and the elevation of Kannaḍa to a standard equal to that of Sanskrit in literature, poetics and secular sciences. The production of scientific, literary and exegetical works in Kannaḍa and the dissemination of know-

---

[1] G. M. Moraes : Kadambakula, p. 294 ; E. C. VIII, sb, 100, 262. [2] G. M. Moraes : Kadambakula, p. 298.

ledge and the propagation of art by copying and teaching those works and by building up vast libraries in several centres of Karnāṭaka were a stupendous work; but these institutions did it splendidly, for which every Kannaḍiga must feel greatly indebted to them. Of course, the Agrahāras also might have joined hand with them in the same task. Some of the early educational centres of Karnāṭaka are Banavāsi, Taḻakāḍu, Aihoḻe and Gokarṇa ; those that flourished in the mediaeval period were Sāloṭagi, Baḻḻigāme and Vijayanagara. Śravaṇabeḻgoḻa and Koppaṇa were the earliest strongholds of Jaina learning and culture. A private institution, founded by endowment by a Hoysaḻa minister was that of Mailangi, in which many languages like Nāgara, Kannaḍa, Tamiḻ and Ārya (Marāṭhi) were taught.

The social and religious institutions, which kept the springs of culture alive, centred round the temple as they do today even in the villages. What are known as Purāṇas and Harikīrtanas were functions usually held in the temples where people gathered to listen with great devotion and delight. Recitations from Kannaḍa poetry were given to audiences by trained reciters know as Gamakis, so that an understanding and appreciation of poetry came to the common people without the least amount of literacy. The culture of the Purāṇas, the Epics and of the great works in Kannaḍa permeated the life of the Kannaḍiga and equipped him for a fuller living. Faith in God and in goodness became part and parcel of the convictions of the generality of people and prompted their best behaviour. Large vision, lofty ambition, high achievement, implicit faith, sincerity and purity of character, truthfulness and generosity have characterised the life of the people at its

best as a result of the precept and practice of the leaders and the unceasing influence of these social and religious institutions.

There are obvious defects in the social life of Karnāṭaka owing to the highly emotional and unsteady nature of the people. Activity and organisation on the part of a Kannaḍiga are generally sporadic and that too, frequently under stimulation, the sustained and systematic building up of individual and collective life being an exception with him. As very often described and criticised in old Kannaḍa literature, the worship of several gods and goddesses for all kind of material gain or through fear, coupled with cruel animal sacrifice, has always been a regular feature of village life. Almost every village gives evidence of rich folklore, that has left its mark on domestic and public customs and conventions even today. Stories of men or women, sacrificed while building a tank, bridge or fort are legion. Superstitions of every description rule the minds of the people. Unthinking and blind acceptance of beliefs has thwarted progressive living. A strange fatalism, that is the outcome of a wrong view of devotion and surrender to God, has taken hold of the Kannaḍiga and rendered him inactive and indolent. The geographical conditions have contributed no less to this trait of his character. Notwithstanding these defects, it is remarkable that " a deep and real culture has, as it were, transfused the very air that the people are breathing and it appears in all the many acts of their lives and often in the words which they use without realising the full meaning ".[1] Karnāṭaka has thus

[1] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār : Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 11.

made a substantial contribution to Indian culture by the variety and depth of her social and religious culture and by the high degree of achievement in the realisation of social ideals and the cultivation of social virtues.

CHAPTER XI

We have so far attempted a study of the political and socio-religious culture of Karnāṭaka with a view to assessing its contribution to Indian culture. The next aspect of our study, as indicated before, is the aesthetic tradition and culture of historical Karnāṭaka. It comprises all the fine arts, from architecture and sculpture to literature and music. In general, it may be said without fear of contradication that aesthetic sensibility is a very marked feature of the cultural personality of the Kannaḍigas. Their love of the beautiful has sought expression in many forms of art. At the same time, it should be remembered that the art of the Kannaḍiga has been generally made to subserve the highest ends of life, laid down in his religion and philosophy. The beauty of this blending of art and life lies in the fact that neither is subordinated to nor debased by the other.

Taking up architecture and sculpture, we find that in the opinion of great authorities on the subject, Karnāṭaka has made an undoubted contribution not merely to Indian art but to the art of the world. Admittedly, it has produced original styles of architecture and modes of sculpture. In the very early period, there might have been a few temples like the one at Banavāsi, but it seems to us

that the architecture of Karnāṭaka really began with the Buddhist Caityas, Vihāras and rock-cut caves in the Aśokan and Śātavāhana periods, followed by the Śiva or Viṣṇu temples in the early Kadamba and Cālukya periods. Jaina architecture came to light in the kingdom of the Kadambas and the Gangas and spread gradually to the rest of Karnāṭaka. It was under the Hoysaḷas during the 12th and 13th centuries that the architecture of Karnāṭaka manifested its highest originality and grandeur. During the Vijayanagara age, the tradition was augmented by the addition of modes, influenced by the Dravidian art of South India. Thus the Kannaḍa country came to be unsurpassed in the number, beauty and variety of its structures and figures, standing as eternal monuments of the irrepressible, aesthetic urge of its people. Four or five styles of architecture are shown to have been extant in Karnāṭaka : The Kadamba,[1] Ganga[2] or Jaina, Cālukya, Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara, of which the Cālukya and the Hoysaḷa are distinctly pre-eminent. The Cālukya is mostly influenced by the early Dravidian style and therefore the features of the latter apply to the former in several respects.[3] Some of the technical features of the Cālukya style are as follows :— The temple consists of five parts called Vimāna, which

---

[1] G. M. Moraes : The Kadambakula, Chap. VIII.

[2] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao : The Gangas of Talkāḍ, pp. 228–30.

[3] It is contended that this kind of dynastic classification is unscientific and had better be given up. James Fergusson divides South Indian architecture into two styles, Dravidian and Cālukyan. So far as Karnāṭaka is concerned, under the Dravidian style, he includes Kailas, Elūra,

includes both the Garbhagudi and the Sukanāsi, Mukhamaṇṭapa, Gopura on the Mahādvāra, Hajāra and Dvāramaṇṭapa.[1] The stone used for the temples of this style is a variety, known as Kaggallu (granite). The ground plan is four-cornered and the top structure above

Paṭṭadakal and Dhārwār temples as well as the garden pavilion at Vijayanagara. Under Cālukyan, he practically includes all the remaining monuments of Iṭṭagi, Gadag, Kuruvatti, Dambal and the temples in Mysore. Though we agree that the subject deserves to be studied by experts in an unbaissed manner, we are inclined to hold that inclusion of different modes under one style is as unscientific as over-classification, dynastic or otherwise. Every form of art has its roots in the past and its growth into the future. The architecture of Karnāṭaka was inspired by Dravidian art in its inception ; but it developed in course of time its own individual forms, which, broadly speaking, belong to the early mediaeval and the later mediaeval periods. As such, it would not be wrong to give them such names as Cālukya and Hoysaḷa, since the most outstanding monuments in these styles were built during the regime of the dynasties concerned, under their patronage and mostly in the territory under their sway. Whether there were also Kadamba and Ganga styles has yet to be settled by students of the subject. But it must be admitted that the Hoysaḷa style has borrowed a few of its features from the earlier structures such as were built in the early Kadamba age.

[1] B. Venkobarao: Mysore Deśada Vāstuśilpa, part I, p. 6.

the Vimāna resembles a Buddhist Stūpa. Generally there is only one Garbhaguḍi with a chief image. On the whole, it is the prominence, which is given to the lofty tower on the main gate rather than the tower on the main shrine which distinguishes the Cālukya or Drāviḍa style from the rest. In the imitation of the Drāviḍa mode, the Cālukyan temples added a feature of their own, which later on became a conspicuous trait of the Hoysaḷa style. "In the pure Dravidian temple, the carvings are simple and rarely over-ornate, but the Cālukyan artists were fond of superb decoration".[1] The Hoysaḷa style of architecture is free from Dravidian influence to a very large extent and is the most original contribution of Karnāṭaka to architecture and sculpture. A few of its distinctive features are:—the five parts in a Hoysaḷa temple are Vimāna, Navaranga, Mukhamanṭapa, Dvāramanṭapa and Sabhāmanṭapa;[2] the stone used is Baḷapa variety (pot stone); the ground plan is star-shaped and the whole basement is polygonal; the Gopura is on the main shrine and pyramidal in form, there are designs on the ceiling known as Bhuvaneśvaris and bracket figures on the outside known as Madanakaivigrahas, both of them peculiar to the Hoysaḷa style. The two styles contrast with each other in respect of ground plan, elevation, composition and ornaments. The Hoysaḷa is called the Peṭikā (box) style as distinguished from the Nāgara (town) style of the further South. The temples of the Cālukyan style are

[1] D. K. Bhāradvāj: The Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 158.

[2] B. Venkobarao: Mysore Deśada Vāstuśilpa, part I, p. 8.

scattered over the Cālukyan territory, mostly in North Karnāṭaka in places like Badāmi, Aihoḻe, Paṭṭadakal, Lakkunḍi, Kukanūr, Iṭṭagi and Kuruvatti. The high quality of performance in this style has already evoked the admiration of art-critics. The temple of Iṭṭagi, however, deserves a special mention as it is a perfect work of architecture mostly unmixed with sculpture. As Will Durant writes, "Only a Hindu pietist rich in words could describe the lovely symmetry of the shrine at Iṭṭagi."[1] 'Here' says Meadows Taylor "the carving on some of the pillars, and of the lintels and architraves of the doors, is quite beyond description. No chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer."[2] James Fergusson remarks "At Iṭṭagi .... is a large Śaiva temple .... which .... must be regarded as one of the most highly finished and architecturally perfect of the Cālukyan shrines that have come down to us."[3] In the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal, which is a place "remarkable for some of the finest and most interesting structural temples in India",[4] on the pillars are carved stories from the epics in continuous narrative reminding one of similar carvings in the temples of Jāvā and possibly suggesting the influence of Karnāṭaka art on greater India according to expert opinion.

---

[1] Will Durant: The Story of Civilisation, Vol. II, p. 600. [2] Ibid, p. 601, fn.

[3] James Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I, p. 424.

[4] E. B. Havell: The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India, p. 176.

The Hoysaḻa style is richly represented by the temples of Belūr, Haḻebīḍu and Somanāthapura built in Mysore Karnāṭaka by the Hoysaḻa kings. They are the most exquisite specimens of the epic grandeur, variety and massiveness of Karnāṭaka architecture. They are remarkable for the fine blending of scultpure and architecture, for immortalising in stone religion, legend, history and contemporary life in the form of dance, dress, manners, etc., and for creating myriad forms of beauty in design and structure. They exhibit the urge of great artists in the power and perfection of an art which, while maintaining its unity, leaves no scope for further embellishment of even the smallest parts of its material. That is why Fergusson says "There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temples at Belūr and Haḻebīḍu surpass even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy.[1]....The amount of labour which each facet of this porch (in Belūr) displays is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world"[2]. Proceeding further, he bestows the highest meed of praise on the Hoysaḻeśvara and Kedāreśvara temples at Haḻebīḍu and compares them to the Parthenon at Athens, adding that the former tend towards exuberant fancy whereas the latter tends towards intellectual purity in the sphere of architecture[3].

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 193.

[2] James Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I, p. 440. [3] Ibid; pp. 442–450.

The contribution of Jainism to the art of Karnāṭaka is chiefly noteworthy in the field of iconography. The Jaina achievement in this respect is mainly found in the three well-known colossi of Karnāṭaka, viz., the statues of Gommaṭeśvara or Bāhubali at Śravaṇabeḻgoḻa, Kārkaḻa and Yeṇur ",[1] " the last one is the smallest of the three (35 ft. high) and the first the biggest, rising to a height of 56½ ft."[2] The highest, viz., Gommaṭa of Śravaṇabeḻgoḻa is the earliest (c. 983 A. D.) and the most magnificent and marvellous work of art. The colossal image, standing on an eminence under an open sky, is a symbol of peace in stone, of the triumph of human personality over sorrow and strife. It is important that " this human figure of Gommaṭeśvara is indeed known only in Karnāṭaka, and statues of that size are very rare elsewhere".[3] Fergusson says, "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt",[4] whereas Workman remarks, " It is larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt.... The artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wonderous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile with which Gommaṭa gazes out on a struggling world".[5] The sweet smile, referred to here, gives an extraordinarily inspiring and human touch to this prodigy in stone. Other peculiar contributions of the Jainas are observed to be

---

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p. 103. [2] Ibid, p. 104. [3] Ibid, p. 104.

[4] James Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 72.

[5] M. V. Kṛṣṇarao; The Gangas of Talkāḍ, p. 245. & Workman: Through Town and Jungle, pp. 82–4.

"the free standing pillar" or the Mānastambha, "pillared chambers" and the rock-cut caves as in Ellora with Indra-sabhā and Jagannāth Sabhā.[1] • The "thousand pillar Basti" of Muḍabidri calls for special notice, as "it is very extensive, magnificent, containing on and about a thousand pillars and no two alike".[2] The Ellora caves, which were cut in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I can be claimed to be a contribution, in the main, of Karnāṭaka architecture of that category. The Kailāsa temple therein has rightly received the applause of art-critics all over the world.[3] The capacity of the Kannaḍa artist for creating a variety of forms in stone with the greatest possible ease may be illustrated by the Meṇabasti or rock-cut temples at Badāmi and in the stone chariot at Hampi. The Vijaya Viṭṭhala temple of Vijayanagara has also come in for due praise.[4] On the whole, the

---

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, pp. 109, 111, 119. [2] Ibid, p. 116.

[3] H. G. Rawlinson: India, A Short Cultural History, p. 172:—"The Kailāsa temple has always been looked on as one of the architectural marvels of the world". And James Fergusson: Hist. of I. & E. A. Vol. I, p. 342:—"Independently, however, of its historical or ethnographical value, the Kailās is itself one of the most singular and interesting monuments of architectural art in India. Its beauty and singularity always excited the astonishment of travellers and in consequence, it is better known than almost any other structure in that country."

[4] J. Fergusson: History of I. & E. A. Vol. I, p. 401:—"It is wholly in granite and carved with a boldness and

outstanding contribution of Karnāṭaka to Indian architecture and sculpture is a fact which is acknowledged on all hands and requires no elaborate proof.

In regard to painting, it must be conferred that there are very few remains of this art in Karnāṭaka, though Kannaḍa poetry teems with references to portraits and pictures accompanied with details of appreciation.[1] Recently, linear carvings and drawings of animal and human figures have been discovered in Gombiguḍḍa hill i.e. the hill of pictures (in Jamakhanḍi state) and further research might bring to light many more.[2] The frescoes of Ajantā are the only glorious heritage of Indian art, between the 1st cent. B. C. and 700 A. D. Considering the wide extent of the Kannaḍa country during that period, it is reasonable to presume that the Kannaḍa artists of the time may have made their mute contribution to the amazing art of Ajantā. "There is no doubt that many of the paintings were done under the patronage of the Cālukyan rulers, specially of Pulakeśi II (7th cent.) who is himself represented in one of the frescoes".[3] Next to Ajantā, we have to refer to "some remains of paintings....on the ceilings in the Kailāsanāth temple at Ellora"[4] as pointed out by

expression of power nowhere surpassed in the buildings of its class."

[1] Rasayogi: Kannaḍa Sāhityadalli Karnāṭaka citrakale (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike, Vol. XV, No. 1).

[2] Annual Report on Kannaḍa Research in Bombay Province for the year 1939-40, pp. 21-2.

[3] D. K. Bhāradvāj: The Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 163.

[4] Ibid, p. 164.

Dr. Koomāraswāmi and a few blurred paintings on the ceilings in one of the caves at Badāmi, the paintings on the walls of the Jaina Maṭha at Beḷgoḷa[1] and later paintings of the Vijayanagara period in the Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi and at Lepākṣi. Reference must also be made to the illustrated manuscripts of Kannaḍa works, especially Jaina, in which the artist is seen at work in drawing designs and figures.[2] .In the references made to painting in Kannaḍa petory, an expert and detailed knowledge of the technique is in evidence. The Kannaḍa poets, Ponna and Rudrabhaṭṭa make mention of a renowned painter, Cīraghaṭṭi by name, who may be inferred to have been a historical person.[3] The art of painting is known to have prospered under the Mysore rulers after the fall of Vijayanagara. Even today there is no dearth of local geniuses, who excel in the allied arts of clay-modelling, cradle-painting and the making of dolls and wooden flora and fauna in places such as Gokāk and Kankeri. That is proof enough of the existence of a rich tradition of painting all over Karnāṭaka, though we are not in a position now to speak exactly of its contribution to Indian art. We can, however, speak most definitely about the beauty of the engraving in inscriptions and of the handwriting in the manuscripts of Kannaḍa works. The aesthetic sense of the Kannaḍiga has found its expression in the evolution of the Kannaḍa script and in the engraving and writing of the Kannaḍa letters with a taste for design and symmetry. It is

---

[1] S. R. Śarma: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p. 123.

[2] Ibid, p. 125.

[3] D. R. Bendre; Sāhitya Samśodhana, pp. 134-7.

a rare pleasure to look at some of the inscriptions and manuscripts on palm leaf in Kannaḍa. As Rice puts it, "Ornamental flourishes and elegant fancy letters are used where suitable and the whole presents an attractive appearance". ....“Under the Cālukyas in 1067 is mentioned (cd 47) an artistic engraver (Rūvāri) who could entwine the forms of elephants, lions, parrots and other animals so as to make them appear from the letters". "In 1159 under the Hoysaḻas is mentioned (ak 141) a sculptor, who within the space of a single page (of a ole or Palmyra leaf) wrote the whole of the Gograhaṇa in the highest style so as to please every one".[1] The scribes of Karnāṭaka have made a genuine contribution to Indian art by the exquisite beauty of their handwriting which approximates to the art of the brush.

In regard to the science and art of music, Karnāṭaka has a distinct achievement to its credit. " It developed a school of music which is called the Karnāṭaka school and which has spread all over the South".[2] Though a thorough study of this subject awaits to be undertaken, it appears to us that South Indian music was purely Dravidian at first and came to be styled as 'Karnāṭaka Sangīta' as a result of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian modes of music that must have been effected in Karnāṭaka. It came to be called 'Dakṣiṇādi' owing perhaps to its origin and spread in the South. Karnāṭaka has, therefore, a musical culture of

[1] B. L. Rice: Mysore and Koorg from the Inscriptions, p. 192.

[2] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 3.

its own, which is distinguished from the northern or Hindūstāni music by a scientific correlation of Tāla aud Rāga with greater stress on rhythm, a separate system of Rāgas and Ālāpanas, besides those common to Hindūstāni and a few other peculiarites of actual performance.[1] The power of Karnāṭaka music to interpret moods and to rouse emotions is superb. " Among early musicians of whom we hear in Karnāṭaka mention may be made of Vīraballaḷa (12th cent.) who was known as 'Sangītaprasanga-bhangi' and Gopāla Nāyaka, supposed to belong to Vijaya-nagara, whose contest with Amir Khusru of Allāuddin Khilji's court are among the interesting traditions in the musical world".[2] It is interesting to note that among the rāgas mentioned by Jayadeva (12th cent.) .... Karnāṭa is mentioned. The great mystics of the Dāsakūṭa like Purandaradāsa built up a tradition for this music by simplifying and employing it for their devotional songs. The renowned devotee and singer Tyāgarāja of the Telugu country, who is regarded as the ablest exponent of Karnā-ṭaka music and who has composed Telugu songs, valuable alike for music and poetry, is said to have derived inspiration from Purandaradāsa. In the art of recitation, known as Gamakakalā, Karnāṭaka music and poetry were made complementary to each other in a way, very characteristic of the Kannaḍa tradition. The fine art of dance and drama, allied to music, were in a well-developed

[1] R. Anantakṛṣṇa Śarmā; Bharatīya Sangītadalli Dakṣinottaramārgagalu (Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka, Vol. XVI, No. 2).

[2] D. K. Bhāradvāj: Karnāṭaka Handbook, p. 166.

state in historical Karnāṭaka. As early as 200 A.D., a reference is made in the Tamil work, Śilappadikāram to Kannaḍa actresses and dancers, who entertained king Senguṭṭavan in the Nilgiri hills.[1] From an inscription at Paṭṭadakal, we learn about the existence of a very well-known acter, called Naṭasevya in 800 A.D. In the course of the epigraph, he is spoken of very highly as a scientific dancer and actor.[2] Kannaḍa literature of a period of over a thousand years is replete with glowing descriptions of the arts of music, dance and drama. The sculptures on the temples everywhere reveal the variety, grace and abandon of Karnāṭaka dance in poses of rare charm. We learn that Śāntaladevi, the wife of Viṣṇuvardhana, the Hoysaḷa king, was a very great dancer herself.[3] Dancing was regularly practised as a fine art by ladies of the higher classes in the Vijayanagara period. It was also a speciality of temple girls, called Devadāsis. The Kannaḍa theatre was represented by folkplays based mostly on epic and historical themes, known as Bayalāṭa and Yakṣagāna today. They have a settled technique of their own, combining music, dance and dialogue. There used to be itinerant actors, called Jātigāras or Veṣagāras, who dramatised with great skill scenes of common life as they went from house to house. This brief study is sufficient to suggest

[1] V. R R. Dīkṣitar : The Śilappadikāram, pp. 296-7.

[2] ಖ್ಯಾತಮಹಾಪ್ರಭಾವ ಭರತಾಗಮಯುಕ್ತಬಹುಪ್ರಕಾರದಾ ಮಾತಿನೊಳೆಲ್ಲ ಮೇನೊ ನಟಸೇವ್ಯನ ಮುನ್ನೆ ಎಥೋಕ್ತಮಾರ್ಗದಿನ್ನೀ ತೆರದಿಳ್ದುದಗ್ರತಲಸಞ್ಚರ-ಮೆಮ್ಬುದಿದೆನ್ದು ಪೇೞ್ದುಡಿನ್ನಾತನೆ ನರ್ತಕಂ ನಟರೊಳಗ್ಗಳಮೀ ಭುವನಾನ್ತರಾಳದೊಳ್ |

[3] E. C. Vol. V, bl 16, 58, 71.

the kind of full-fledged aesthetic life, which the people of Karnāṭaka have been accustomed to live and through which they have enriched Indian culture by their singular contribution to the same.

CHAPTER XII

The last but not the least item in the artistic culture of Karnāṭaka is the vast and varied literature in Kannaḍa. We shall first see how old it is and when exactly the Kannaḍa literary movement arose. The earliest available work in Kannaḍa is 'Kavirājamāga' (IX cent. A.D.), either written or approved by Nṛpatunga (808-880 A. D.), the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. It is a work on poetics based on Daṇḍin's 'Kāvyādarśa.' It refers to Paḻagannaḍa, i.e., old Kannaḍa, that was prevalent from before its time and to Purātana Kavis and Purvācāryas, i.e., previous masters of the Kannaḍa muse and originators of Kannaḍa criticism.[1] It also names a number of authors and leaves many unnamed, who wrote both prose and poetry in Kannaḍa.[2] It refers to the prevalence of a kind of composition styled as Gadyakathā in Kannaḍa-gabba or Kannaḍa poetry by the renowned, ancient masters - which was a mixture of prose and verse.[3] It speaks of Bedaṇḍe and Cattāṇa as indigenous forms of composition, which had been in vogue in Kannaḍa.[4] It

[1] Kavirājamārga, I-48, I-32, 75.

[2] Ibid, I-29, 33.

[3] Ibid, I-27. [4] Ibid, I-32, 34, 35.

has therefore, been inferred that Kannaḍa had a literature at least a few centuries before the composition of this work. One of the prose authors mentioned therein is Durvinīta, who is identified with the Ganga king of that name, of c. 600 A. D., who is known to have been a versatile scholar and a gifted author from the epigraphs. A few other works like 'Cūḍāmaṇi', said to be a great commentary in Kannaḍa containing 96,000 verses on Jaina philosophical work entitled 'Tatvārthamahāśāstra' and written by Tumbalūrācārya (c. 700 A.D.), have been traced to a period much earlier than 'Kavirājamārga.' As regards the Cūḍāmaṇi alone, R. Narasimhācārya, says, "This voluminous work of the 7th cent. presupposes the existence of an earlier literature and a widespread cultivation of the language".[1] Inscriptions in Kannaḍa, containing literary passages, continue to be on the increase from 500 A. D. The valuable find of the oldest Kannaḍa inscription at Halmiḍi (in Mysore State), of c. 450 A. D., has thrown a flood of light on the beginnings of Kannaḍa literature. The style of this inscription, showing the established influence of Sanskrit on Kannaḍa and containing certain forms of pre-Haḷagannaḍa stage is interpreted to indicate that Kannaḍa language and literature had developed some centuries since and reached a certain standard of expression.[2] Another inscription of about 500 A. D. consists of a metrical passage in Kannaḍa, very probably the first stanza

[1] R. Narsimhācārya : History of Kannaḍa Literature, p. 5.

[2] M. H. Kṛṣṇa : Atyanta Prācīna Kannaḍa Śāsana (Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka, Vol. XX, No. 3, p. 38).

in the inscriptional literature of Karnāṭaka. It contains a tribute to a hero called Guṇamadhura, is archaic in language and perfectly literary in style and content.[1] Thus it can be safely asserted that Kannaḍa literature is at least as old as 500 A. D. and that the 'Kavirājamārga' of IX cent. A. D. is a prominent milestone in the history of Kannaḍa literature and not a starting point; it indicates the existence of a rich literary tradition in the past, that gave rise to a work on poetics like 'Kavirājamārga' as a very natural development. There is another view that Kannaḍa as a language and literature prevailed even from before the Christian era, owing to the fact that a few early epigraphs (of c. 209 and 300 A. D.) are found to be in Kannaḍa and that a few Kannaḍa words are met with in a prakrit work called 'Gāthāsaptaśati' of 200 A.D.[2] Among other arguments advanced in support of this view, it is stated that the date of the Halmiḍi insqription is 300 A. D. and that, therefore, it presupposes a linguistic cultivation and a literary tradition in Kannaḍa, sufficiently prior to its composition. Though this view is entitled to a careful consideration at the hands of scholars, it appears to us,

---

[1] E. C. XI, cg 43.
ಬಿಣಮಣಿ ಅನ್ತು ಭೋಗಿ ಬಿಣಡುಳ್ಳ್ಣಿವಿಲ್ಲ್ನದೋನ್ ।
ರಣಮುಖದುಳ್ಳ್ ಕೋಲಂ ನೆರಿಯುಕ್ಕ್ರ್ಮಸಿನ್ದ್ರಗುಣನ್ ॥
ಪ್ರಣಯಿಜನಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾಮನಸಿತೋತ್ಪಲವರ್ಣ್ಣನವನ್ ।
ಗುಣಮಧುರಾಂಕ್ಕ ದಿವ್ಯಪುರುಷನ್ ಪುರುಷಪ್ರವರನ್ ॥

[2] Govind Pai: Kannaḍa Sāhityada Prācīnate (Udayabhārata Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 111-117) and Mūru Upanyāsagaḷu, pp. 101-138.

however, that in the present state of evidence before us, we cannot think of an earlier origin for Kannaḍa literature than 500 A.D., though it is true that Kannaḍa was being cultivated as a language from an earlier period. On a comparative study of Indian literatures, R. Narasimhācārya concludes that "It will thus be seen that the literature of Kannaḍa is of far greater antiquity than that of any other South Indian, or for that matter. any other Indian, vernacular, except perhaps that of Tamiḻ".[1] It has also been aptly said that "Kannaḍa has thus had a literature far larger than most Indian languages and for as long as most European languages and the oldest Indian language except perhaps one or two."[2] The antiquity of at least 1,500 years for Kannaḍa literature is not merely a matter of pride but a sure indication of how long the literary tradition of Karnāṭaka was maintained and kept alive— a tradition, that deserves to be respected and fostered.

It is an admitted fact that the Jainas were the poineers in the field of Kannaḍa literature. A suggestion is, however, made that there might have been a Buddhist period even prior to the Jaina period, but that appears to be without any foundation. The Buddhist faith did not spread in Karnāṭaka with the same penetration with which Jainism did. The Jaina faith attracted large numbers drawn from all sections of society, chiefly the agricultural and the trading classes. Jaina kings and scholars felt the most urgent need

---

[1] R. Narasimhācārya : History of Kannaḍa Literature, p. 11.

[2] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār : Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 7.

of propagating the tenets of the new faith through the language of the people and that was the beginning of the literary movement in Kannaḍa. It was a red-letter day in the history of Kannaḍa when the scholars of the time realised the value of the language of the common man, at a time when Sanskrit held supreme sway over their minds. This realisation was only possible for Jaina savants and artists, whose scriptures were written in the language of the people in the land of their origin and who, therefore, had no fetish for Sanskrit, though their love and study of Sanskrit, as well as Prakrit was unequalled. As a result of the new attitude, epigraphs came to be written in Kannaḍa since it must have been thought that they were meant for the instruction of the people. The first works in Kannaḍa might have been mostly religious and sectarian. A few works like 'Cūḍāmaṇi' which has been already referred to, belong to the early period and are known to be commentaries on Jaina works in Sanskrit. The Ganga king Durvinīta, Vimalodaya and Nāgārjuna, whom Kavirājamāga mentions, must have also contributed their own to the new movement by writing books directly bearing on Jaina biography, legend, philosophy and religion. There could have been but a few scientific or secular works during this age. But we must make such generalisations rather cautiously because it is possible that we might be ignorant of a great mass of secular literature of this period, whose existence seems to be suggested by 'Kavirājamārga'. A good deal of prose, chiefly in narrative form, might have been written, as is evident from the reference to Gadyakathā, though it might not have been strictly secular. One of such prose works probably is 'Vaḍḍārādhane' by Śivakoṭyācārya, in

which Jaina narrative is rendered in such superb Kannaḍa prose that it stands all by itself for its stylistic excellence in the realm of Kannaḍa literature. But its date is uncertain and scholars are not agreed whether it belongs to the period before 'Kavirājamārga' or after, though it is held certain by Prof. Upādhye that it is a work, produced later than the 9th century and not earlier.[1] As will be shown a little further, Campū writing must have been going on since long and a Jaina Rāmāyaṇa is inferable from the illustrative extracts in 'Kavirājamārga'. It was gradually realised that Kannaḍa as a language and literature could not receive the recognition of the Sanskritists and the cultural leaders of the land unless and until it was put on a par with Sanskrit in every respect. Sanskrit had already its great secular works in the field of poetry, prose and drama; it had its poetics and works on several sciences by about 9th century A.D. In particular, the age of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa was followed by that of Bhāravi, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti so that, the grand style with all its merits and defects, was the order of the day. The task of Kannaḍa, according to the writers of that age, was to emulate Sanskrit in a spirit of healthy rivarly and at the same time to strike its own paths in respect of classical traditions, suited to the genius of the language. 'Kavirājamārga' represents this classical urge to a pre-eminent degree, laying down, as it does, the critical credo for the aspiring poets and critics in Kannaḍa.

---

[1] Govind Pai: Mūru Upanyāsagaḷu, pp. 111-122; Prof. A. N. Upādhye: Bṛhatkathā Kośa--Intro., pp. 63-72; and Prabuddha Karnāṭaka, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 93-109.

From the 9th century to 12th century A.D., the aforesaid classical tradition in Kannaḍa literature flourished magnificently, being built on secure foundations by gifted men of letters. Some of the prominent authors of this period were Pampa (941 A. D.), author of 'Vikramārjuna-Vijaya' or 'Pampa Bhārata' and 'Adipurāṇa', Ponna (c. 950 A. D.) author of 'Śantipurāṇa' and 'Rāmakathe', Cāvuṇḍarāya (971 A. D.), author of 'Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa', Ranna (993 A. D.), author of 'Gadāyuddha' and 'Ajitapurāṇa', Nāgavarma I (c. 990 A. D.), author of 'Karnāṭaka Kadambari' and 'Chandombudhi', Nāgacandra (c. 1100 A. D.), author of 'Rāmacandra Caritapurāṇa' or 'Pampa rāmāyaṇa' and 'Mallinathapurāṇa', Nāgavarma II (c. 1145 A. D.), author of 'Kāvyāvalokana' and 'Vastu-kośa'. The woks in this period have been both literary and scientific. The themes of the literary works were either drawn from the great Indian epics or Jaina biography and legend. The regular tradition of writing one Loukika (i.e., secular and historical) work and another Āgamika (i. e. religious and legendary) in characteristic Campū form was established and maintained during this period. Adaptations of Sanskrit classics like Bāna's 'Kādambari', as the one by Nāgavarma I, made their appearance. The Campū form of composition established itself and the classical style known as 'Haḻagannaḍa with an admixture of Sanskrit diction came into vogue. Most of the writers of this periods are Jaina, though there are a few Brahmin authors like Nāgavarmācārya (c 1070) and Candrarāja (c. 1079). Pampa, who has been honoured as the Ādi-mahākavi in Kannaḍa, is not only the first but also the foremost author of this period, being one of the great

literary geniuses of Karnāṭaka. His was an all-sided and balanced personality probably owing to the fact that he represented a rare combination of Brahmanical and Jaina culture. He belonged to a well-known Brahmin family, Jainism having entered the family only when his father was converted to Jainism. He was as much of a peot as a hero on the battle-field. Ranna and Nāgacandra are also great peots, who carried forward the classical tradition in Kannaḍa under the influence of Pampa. They even excelled him in some of their individual traits.

Nāgavarma II was a great Jaina scholar, who gave to Kannaḍa for the first time nearly all the scientific works on what is known as Kāvyānga, consisting of grammar, lexicon and poetics, and furnished the aspiring writer with all the necessary aids to literary composition. Cāvuṇḍarāya wrote the first standard work in Kannaḍa prose among the works available to us, with the possible exception of 'Vaḍḍārādhane' which has been mentioned already.

The middle of the 12th century witnessed the rise of a new literary movement. Jaina authors like Nayasena (1112 A. D.) had already revolted against the excesses of the grand style, particularly the extreme Sanskritism in the works of lesser geniuses, and started writing popular stories in simpler Haḷagannaḍa, illustrating the principles of Jaina ethics and religion.[1] The actual genesis of the new

[1] It appears that the stanzas in which Nayasena voices forth his protest against the excessive use of Sanskrit in Kannaḍa, viz.,

ಪೊಸಗನ್ನಡದಿಂ ವ್ಯಾವ |
ರ್ಣಿಸುವೆಂ ಸತ್ಕೃತಿಯುಸೆಂದು ಕನ್ನಡಮುಂ ಚಿಂ ||

movement took place in about the middle of the 12th century, when the Vīraśaiva mystics and reformers, led by Basaveśvara, sought for a popular medium for their spiritual self-expression as well as for the spread of the new religion sponsored by them. Thus arose the vast 'Vacana' literature in simple and forceful Kannaḍa prose, produced by a very large number of Vacanakāras, of whom Basava, Allamaprabhu and Akkamahādevi are easily the best. Kannada literature became the mirror of dynamic personality for the first time and reached the heights of intense and fearless thinking and feeling. Among the Vacanakāras, Basava speaks the language of a great Bhakta, Allamaprbhu of a perfect Jñāni and Akkamahādevi of a daring soul in search of God, her eternal lover. Many of the other Vacanakāras, who were following their humble profession but had risen to great spiritual heights, speak from direct experience, despite their lack of learning and literary training. About the close of this century, works in pure Kannaḍa metres like Ragaḷe and Ṣaṭpadi came to be written by Harihara (c. 1200 A.D.), author of Śiva-

---

ತಿಸಿ ಕೂಡಲಾಜಿದಕ್ಕಟ ।
ಮಿಸುಕದ ಸಕ್ಕದಮನಿಕ್ಕುವವನುಂ ಕವಿಯೇ ॥

might have been a direct jibe at the Sanskrit-ridden style of Candrarāja (c 1079 A.D.) of Madanatilaka, who declared that he was writing in Posagannaḍa. Cf Kavicarite, Part I, p. 92.

ಎನೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದ ಚಂದ್ರನಬ್ಜಾ ।
ನನ ಚಂದ್ರಂ ಶ್ವೇತಕೇತು ಚತ್ರಕವಾತ್ಸ್ಯ ॥
ಯನ ಪಾಂಚಾಳಾದಿ ಮಹಾ ।
ಮುನಿಮತಮನೆ ಪೇಳ್ದನೆಸೆಯೆ ಪೊಸಗನ್ನಡದಿಂ ॥

śaraṇa Ragaḷegaḷu and Rāghavānka (c. 1200 A. D.), author of 'Hariścandra Kāvya', 'Siddharāmapurāṇa', etc. and Kereyapadmarasa (c. 1200 A. D.), author of 'Dīkṣābodhe'. Harihara and Rāghavānka are undoubtedly poets of a very high order. The former is a powerful writer of poetic biographies, relating to the life and personality of the devotees of Śiva, his biography of Basava being one of his best works. Rāghavānka is a born narrator with a rare dramatic skill, his 'Hariścandra Kāvya' being the most fascinating and artistic presentation of that theme in the whole field of Indian literature. The period from 12th to 14th century A. D. is know as the Vīraśaiva period, even as the former (9th to 12th centuıy) is called Jaina. It does not, however, mean that classical poetry ceased to be written, though its influence was waning. It was represented during this period by eminent poets like Nemicandra (c 1170), Rudrabhaṭṭa (c 1180), Janna (1209) and Āṇḍayya (c 1235). Rudrabhaṭṭa was the first Brahmin poet with a devotional fervour, to treat a religious theme from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in the high Campū style. Janna is a renowned poet of this age, who can be classed with Pampa and Ranna for his poetic insight and power and for his novel treatment of love and lust as a tragic problem. Keśirāja (c. 1260), who belongs to this period, wrote a standard work on Kannada grammar called 'Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa'. He was also the author of several poetical works, which have been mentioned but have not come down to us.

The next period from the 14th century to the 16th century is the golden age of Vijayanagara Empire, under whose aegis, poets of all faiths wrote their works and added

to the treasure of Kannaḍa literature. This period was, in particular marked by greater literary output on the part of Brahmin poets such as Kumāravyāsa (c. 1430) and Kumāravālmīki (c 1500) and mystic singers like Purandaradāsa (c. 1540) and Kanakadāsa (c. 1550). Kumāravyāsa, who wrote the first ten Parvans of the MBh. in Kannaḍa in Bhāminī Ṣaṭpadi meter is universally recognised as one of the greatest of Kannaḍa poets on account of his power of varied narration, live charcter study and racy and resilient style. If Pampa and Ranna remind one of Milton and his grand style, Kumāravyāsa calls to mind the myriad minded Shakespeare and his infinite power. Of course he is different from Shakespeare in his Bhāgavata attitude towards life, which colours his handling of the MBh. story. That is why his 'Bhārata' depicts through the characters and the actions of Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍavas the play of Divine Power in human affairs and the Bhāgavata response to the same, whereas that of Pampa unfolds in a human way the spectacle of life as a conflict of warring emotions.

Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, inspired by their Guru Vyāsarāya, composed devotional songs in Kannaḍa and founded the institution of Dāsakūṭa. They popularised the Bhakti cult by employing living Kannaḍa as their literary medium. Lakṣmīśa (c. 1600), who belongs to this period according to latest research, is the author of 'Jaimini Bhārata' written in Ṣaṭpadi metre, one of the most popular works even today. In this work, he shows himself to be a great story teller, a true Bhāgavata and, above all, a master of musical Kannaḍa, possessing rare charm and variety. It may be said that the harmony of sound and sense, and that of a rare kind, is the quality

that he has infused in his composition. The reorganisation of Vīraśaiva literature went on apace in this age under royal patronage and the Vīraśaiva doctorine as found in the 'Vacanas' of mystics was systematised and interpreted by several writers. Biographies of Vīraśaiva saints and men of letters were also written, of which 'Prabhulingalīle' by Cāmarasa is preeminent. The outstanding representatives of the Vīraśaiva revival in this age were Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍeśa (1428), Cāmarasa (c. 1430), Toṇṭada Siddheśvara (c. 1470), Nijaguṇa Śivayogi (c. 1500) and Virūpakṣapaṇḍita (c. 1584). Some Vacanakāras came to the forefront under the inspiration of Toṇṭada Siddhalinga, among whom Ghanalinga deserves special mention. Some of the Jaina writers of the time were Mangarasa III (1508), Sāḷva (c. 1550) and Ratnākaravarṇi (1557). Of these, Ratnākaravarṇi was the author of 'Bharateśavaibhava', composed in Sāngatya metre. This has been regarded as one of the greatest peoms in Kannaḍa. Ratnākara is a poet with a distinct and synthetic vision of life and with a singular ease and power in his writing. The Sāngatya metre, which was formerly nothing but a folk tune, has been elevated by this poet to the status of a rich vehicle of great and glorious poetry, though it must be recognised that there were a few poets before him who used it to great advantage. The Campū style was definitely on the wane during this period whereas the indigenous metres like Ṣaṭpadi and Sāngatya, especially the former, were most common and popular.

During the 17th century, poets like Tirumalārya and Cikupādhyāya flourished under the patronage of the celebrated Mysore ruler, Cikkadevarāja Odeyar. These writers made their singular contribution to Kannaḍa

literature by rendering Śrīvaiṣṇava legend, biography and doctrine into Kannaḍa. In addition to this, Tirumalārya introduced contemporary history and paid glowing tributes to his patron, Cikkadevarāja in his works. It has been remarked that "Cikupādhyāya may be said to be the most voluminous writer in Kannaḍa, his works being more than thirty in number".[1] The volume of the work does not, however, imply any high achievement in point of merit, although one need not detract from the genuine qualities of Cikupādhyāya as a poet. Sarvajña, the author of a large number of popular 'Tripadis', i.e., three-lined stanzas, has given to Kannaḍa a storehouse of the wisdom and the wit of the Kannaḍa land and, possibly, of every clime and country. He has been rightly called the people's poet. Ṣaḍakṣari is another poet of the 17th century, whose Campū works used to be as popular as the work of Lakṣmīśa all over Karnāṭaka till the dawn of the 20th century. He is one of the front line Vīraśaiva poets with an extraordinary power of fancy and a mastery over classical Kannaḍa. "The 18th century witnessed the rise of a popular kind of literature, 'Yakṣagānas'[2] i.e., the folk plays that we mentioned in the previous chapter. But the literature of this century and of the 1st part of the 19th century was not particularly brilliant. It was mostly imitative or middling in quality. Towards the close of the 19th century, Muddaṇa came on the horizon and wrote his famous prose work entitled 'Rāmāśvamedha' along with a few others. The novelty of form coupled with the old style marks him out as the first

[1] R. Narasimhācārya: History of Kannaḍa Literature, p. 23. [2] Ibid, p. 25.

poet, in whom the spirit of modern Kannaḍa shone forth, in spite of the old groove in which it moved. He is the poet of transition, the last of the ancients and the first of the moderns. Scientific works, numbering over fifty, on medicine, mathematics, astrology etc., as well as numerous ethical and philosophical works have been written in Kannaḍa in the course of its literary history. In conclusion, it may be noted that the total number of authors is more than a thousand, a figure that gives us "an idea of the extent of the wealth of Kannaḍa literature".[1]

CHAPTER XIII

From this brief survey of Kannaḍa literature, it is clear that Kannaḍa has had a long and rich literary tradition. But the greatness of this literature does not lie merely in the period of time that it covered or in the number of authors. It will be seen that it lies in the various forms of expression, used by the men of letters from time to time, as well as in their literary achievement in respect of matter and manner. During the classical period, Sanskrit literature served as a model and, consequently, imitation of Sanskrit forms of composition held the field. But we still find that those forms were very often adapted to Kannaḍa with certain important innovations. In 'Kavirājamārga', for instance, we get references to two kinds of composition said to be Kannaḍa in origin viz., 'Bedaṇḍe' and 'Cattāṇa'.[2]

---

[1] R. Narasimhācārya: Kavicarite, Vol. III, intro. p. xxxvi. [2] Kavirājamārga I-32, 34, 35.

" The former is defined as a composition consisting of alternate 'Kandas' and 'Vṛttas' and the latter as one, consisting of many Kandas along with ' Vṛttas ', ' Akkara ', ' Caupadi ', , Gītikā ' and ' Tivadi '[1]". These are forms, entirely different from those extant in Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit metres were, of course, employed in them but they were accompanied by Kandas, which are a Kannaḍa modification of the Āryā metre, known to Sanskrit and Prakrit. Besides, the Cattāṇa and Akkara, Caupadi and Tivadi or Tripadi, which are purely Kannaḍa metres. Mention is also made in ' Kāvyāvalokana ' (Sutra 243–6) of ' Melvāḍu ', ' Pāḍu ', ' Pāḍugabba ' and ' Bājanegabba ', which are peculiar to Kannaḍa and most of which appear to have been sung, from the very names that they bear. From the definitions, given, Melvāḍu seems to be the same as Bedaṇḍe, whereas Bājanegabba may be equated with Cattāṇa, though one cannot be sure of the latter identification. "Most of the above kinds of composition have not survived to our times. Among the extant Kannaḍa works, Janna's ' Yaśodharacarita ' (1209) is perhaps the only one that seems to answer to the description of Melvāḍu ".[2] To this, it may be added that ' Kavirājamārga ' itself is a work mostly written in Kandas with an admixture of a few Sanskrit metres and so is on a par with Yaśodharacarita '. But neither of them answers exactly to the description of either Melvāḍu or Bedaṇḍe, where alternation of Kanda and Vṛtta seems to be the chief requirement. It must, however, be mentioned that the rule regarding alternation is not very clear from both the defini-

---

[1] R. Narasimhācārya : History of Kannada Literature p. 12. [2] Ibid, p. 13.

tions. They may be classified Cattāṇa with greater propriety, though they lack the different Kannaḍa metres in their framework.

It was the Campū form of composition, a mixture of poetry and prose, which prevailed in Kannaḍa literature throughout its history, particularly in the Jaina period. 'Kavirājamārga' mentions, among Kannaḍa poetical works, a kind of composition described as containing a mixture of prose and poetry 'Gadyapadyasammiśritā' which was known as 'Gadyakathā'.[1] It is, however, doubtful whether it refers to the Campū form or to a kind of predominantly prose narrative, interspersed with a small number of verses, though the latter appears to have been meant. Guṇavarma I of 900 A.D is said to have written two works viz. 'Harivaṃśa' and 'Śūdraka', both of which, there is reason to believe, must have been Campūs.[2] Śrīvijaya, who finds a mention among the Kannaḍa poets in Kavirājamārga, is credited with writing a Campū on Candraprabha Tīrthankara. These and other facts go to suggest that Campūs were being written in Kannaḍa in the earlier period, though the first Campū works available to us now are 'Pampabhārata' and 'Ādipurāna' of 941 A.D. In point of technique, they have all the literary qualities of a classical Mahākāvya in Sanskrit, with their own additional characteristic of an admixture of prose and poetry. It would be interesting to observe that this kind of composition was introduced in Sanskrit in the 10th

[1] Kavirājamārga I–27.

[2] R. S. Mugaḷi: 'Campuvina Mūla' (Kannaḍa Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrike, Vol. xxvi, No. 1)

century only.[1] As Dr. Keith says, "It is only from a late period that we have works written in the full Kāvya style, in which the poet shows now his ability in prose and now in verses, without seeking to reserve verses for

[1] We are not unaware of the existence of earlier varieties of a mixture of prose and verse in Sanskrit literature. Let alone the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and the the Dharmaśāstras, we come across in the Purāṇas, in the epigraphs like that of Hariṣena and in story literatuie, an intermingling of this type. Special mention must be made of 'Jātakamālā' of Āryaśūra (3rd or 4th cen. A.D.) and of 'Pancatantra' (5th or 6th cen. A.D.). The style of Ārya-śūra, in particular, is said to be classical and polished. In regard to the form of his tales, as composed of prose with verses intermingled, Dr. Keith says "It is not, of course, an invention of Āryaśūra, who followed Kumāralāta and doubtless many others in the employment of this style" (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 69). Prākrit works like the 'Samarāicca kahā' by Haribhadra are also considered to be the predecessors of the later Campūs. With all this, it must be remembered that Campū is not merely a mixture of prose and verse; it is a kind of high class classical composition, with a greater proportion of verse than prose along with metrical variety and with an elaborate and exuberant display of fancy and diction. Such Campūs appear to have been written in Sanskrit from the 10th century onwards, though an authoritative statement in this regard has yet to be made. The reference to Campū as a form by Daṇḍi in 'Kāvyādarśa' is puzzling, since what models he had before him is not known. Can it be

any special end".[1] Another authority on the subject remarks that "the earliest works of this class are not now known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campūs became very popular and they were very largely composed in South India".[2] The Earliest Campūs, known to Sanskrit, are 'Naḷacampū' of Trivikramabhaṭṭa, a court poet of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III (915-17) and 'Yaśastilaka Campū' of Somadeva, who was patronised by Arikesari, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The latter Campū was composed in 951 A.D. It is evident that both the Campūs were written in Karnāṭaka under the patronage of the rulers of Karnāṭaka. In particular, the same Arikesari, who patronised Pampa, the first great poet in Kannaḍa, extended his patronage to Somadeva also, who was a Jaina author like Pampa. All this evidence leads us to the conclusion that the Campū form of composition is, in all probability, the gift of Kannaḍa poets to Sanskrit literature, considering the fact that it was being employed in Kannaḍa even before the 10th century. It is also likely that the Jaina poets, who cultivated Kannaḍa in the early days of its literary history, were the originators of this form. It should be noted in addition that Campū

---

suggested that he had kept in mind the story literature prior to him like the Jātakamālā and Pancatantra or that he spoke of Campūs, that might have been composed in South India, especially in Kannaḍa, since he was a southerner himself?

[1] A. B. Keith : A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 332.

[2] M. Kṛṣṇamācāriar : History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 496.

is "a name of unknown sense" in Sanskrit and it may have been derived from Kannaḍa or one of its dialects.[1] The Jaina Purāṇa in Kannaḍa, which deals with the life of a Tīrthankara, combines the classical technique of the Campū with the Jaina form of a technical Purāṇa. It is thus a form, peculiar to Kannada poetry. Its peculiarity is heightened by the fact that unlike any Mahākāvya in Sanskrit, it has the Śāntarasa as its predominating sentiment, with all the other Rasas receiving full attention. Poets like Pampa and Ranna wrote these Purāṇas in addition to stories of the MBh, which they considered 'Loukika' or secular. In the 'Loukika' Kāvyas, they glorified the exploits of their patron kings through their description of epic heroes by means of veiled allegory. This combination of contemporary history and epic story is a novel feature of Kannaḍa poetry.

The Vacana style, which was referred to before, may be regarded as a characteristic prose pattern of Kannaḍa literature. To be brief, the Vacana may be described as a kind of lyric, uttered in mystical prose. The style of Vacana prose is surely different from that of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius and the 'Imitation of Christ' by Thomas A. Kempis. In fact, the Vacanas may be looked upon as a rare contribution, not only to Kannaḍa, but to the literature

---

[1] As Mr. D. R. Bendre suggests, Sampu and Campe-campe are words in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, meaning beautiful and mixed. It is plausible the word Campū may have thus come into being. The derivations of Campū given by Sanskrit scholars are fanciful and unconvincing. (cf. Intro. to 'Naḷacampū' by Nandikiśoraśarmā).

of India and the world. The poetical forms of composition in the various Kannaḍa metres like Ragaḷe, Ṣaṭpadi, Sāngatya and Tripadi are peculiarly Kannaḍa and, as such, they display the uniqueness of Kannaḍa literature and proclaim the triumph of the indigenous tradition of metre and diction.

We have seen before that the literary productions of the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas were stimulated by the religious movements of their time. Naturally, the theme and the treatment are essentially religious in most of their works. The Jainas mostly wrote on Jaina themes such as the lives of Tīrthankaras and celebrities of Jaina history or legend. The Vīraśaivas generally wrote on themes relating to God Śiva or his devotees, since the time of Harihara, who laid it down as a canon of literary art that the choice of any other subject matter would be profane. The Brahmin poets also usually selected stories from the epics and the Purāṇas for treatment in their works. It should not, however, be understood that secular themes were not at all handled by these poets, since we know of some examples like 'Karnāṭaka Kādambari' by Nāgavarma I, 'Līlāvati' by Nemicandra and 'Kumārarāmakathe' by Nanjuṇḍa. Though sectarian literature arose and some times indulged in recrimination, reciprocation and co-ordination of literary effort among different communities are also borne home to us in many ways. For instance, though the Campū form was originally used by the Jainas, it was employed creditably by both the Vīraśaiva and Brahmin poets in all the periods of literary activity. Similarly, Jainas and Brahmins used with great ease the forms of composition in Kannaḍa metres like Ṣaṭpadi, inaugurated by the Vīraśaiva poets

like Rāghavānka. In fact, Sāngatya and Ṣaṭpadi became so popular that poets of all communities excelled in them in the Vijayanagara period and Campū writing became a rarity. In spite of the conservatism and the sect-ridden mentality of the past, the Kannaḍa poets have generally shown a catholicity of outlook and a largeness of heart, following in the wake of Pampa, as it were, who said in his Ādipurāṇa "All humanity is one" (Manuṣyajāti tānonde valam).[1] The Vacanakāras, Dāsas, Śaraṇas and folk poets have all contributed to the development of this essential attitude and made Kannaḍa culture a living force. Kannaḍa literature has both the classical and the popular aspects to it in almost equal measure. But the gradual descent of this literature from the heights of classical composition to the plains of popular expression in respect of content and style is one of its very interesting features. The works on Kannaḍa grammar, prosody, poetics and lexicon were mainly written by the Jainas, who were the first to cultivate the language and all aspiring poets and critics read them with gratitude, without the least sectarian feeling about them.[2] These are, therefore, some features of Kannaḍa literature, which, along with the forms already noted, deserve to be recognised as having made a contribution to Indian literature and culture.

[1] Pampa: Ādipurāṇa, 15-14.

[2] It is noteworthy in this connection that 'Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa', a standard work on Kannaḍa grammar by Keśirāja, a Jaina scholar, has its commentaries written by Vīraśaiva scholars like Niṭṭūr Nañjayya and Lingaṇārādhya. So also is 'Śabdānuśāsana' of the Jaina grammarian Bhaṭṭākalanka commented on by a Brahmin Pandit called Kuṇḍalagiri Ācārya.

23

It was mentioned in our survey of Kannaḍa literature that there were quite a number of scientific works in Kannaḍa. They are books wherein a knowledge of the different sciences was made available to the Kannaḍiga. A complete study of these works has yet to be made by competent persons, so that it will be possible to know what valuable contribution they have made to the world's stock of knowledge. In the meanwhile, we can definitely say that they should not be dismissed as mere translations of works in Sanskrit. We do not deny that a few of such works like 'Karnāṭaka Kalyāṇakāraka' by Jagaddaḷa Somanātha (c. 1150), which is the earliest work on medicine in Kannaḍa, are clearly translations from Sanskrit originals. But in several of these works, the authors have tried to give a compendium of available knowledge on the subject and made their contribution to the respective sciences, with reference to their own experience and observation. For instance, 'Jātakatilaka' of Śrīdharācārya (1049) is a work on Astrology, which, according to the author, contains the gist of all previous opinions (Sakalācāryamatāntassāram) and at the same time is original and not borrowed (Annyaśāstranirapekśam).[1] It clearly indicates that 'Jātakatilaka' might shed new light on the subject, though we are not now in a position to point them out. The same is the case with works like 'Vyavahāragaṇita', 'Govaidya', 'Khagendramaṇidarpaṇa' (a work on Viṣavaidya) and 'Aśvavaidya'. The work, known as 'Vivekacintāmaṇi' by Nijaguṇaśivayogi (c 1500) is a vast storehouse of knowledge, dealing in the course of ten chapters with 765 topics, culled from all available sources. The

R. Narasimhācārya: Kavicarite, Vol. I, p. 76.

works on poetics in Kannaḍa are generally written under the influence of Sanskrit originals. Still they have a contribution to make on certain topics like the origin of Rasa, the number of Rasas and the place of of Rasa in the definition of poetry. The works on Kannaḍa grammar, prosody, and lexicon show a remarkable combination of scientific content with a singular charm of presentation. Until the results of further study are forthcoming, it may be said generally that Kannaḍa literature has garnered all the knowledge and the wisdom of the past, adding its own quota to the same.

CHAPTER XIV

The literary works in Kannaḍa are varied in theme and style. But a feature common to most of them is that the theme is rarely an invention and is usually borrowed from mythology, epic, history or religious lore. This is a characteristic, which we mostly find in all the old literatures of India and the world. At the same time, mention must be made of a few works, where the poet's invention is predominant. There is a work called 'Kabbigara Kāva' by Āṇḍayya, which is a fantasy written in pure Kannaḍa, unmixed with Sanskrit, but containing a small percentage of Apabhramśa words. Its main story relates to Cupid, who marches against God Śiva with great fury of having stolen the moon belonging to his side, and vanquishes him in battle, turning him into half-woman. This is an entirely original theme though it is certainly inspired by different fragments of mythology. The story of 'Rāmadhānyacarita' by Kanakadāsa, though conceived in a lighter vein, is also an

invention. On the whole, however, the genius of the Kannaḍa poets has manifested itself in the reconstruction of old themes according to a preconceived artistic design. The 'Pampabhārata' and 'Gadāyudha' are very good illustrations of this kind of plot-building, where the poets have drawn on the MBh but have woven their plots anew in accordance with their different objectives in presenting the story. Pampa has succeeded eminently in presenting the whole of the Bhārata story in a concentrated form without either undue compression or over-elaboration. At the same time, he has made the story and the characters live in their most intense form. Ranna, on the other hand, has taken as his theme the concluding portion of the Bhārata war, in which he has achieved splendidly his object of presenting a tragedy of situation through deep character study, dealing only with a few characters and making an effective use of dramatic technique. The 'Hariścandrakāvya' of Rāghavānka is an excellent poetical work in Ṣaṭpadi. In this poem, the popular story of Hariścandra, which was borrowed from existing sources, was handled with such skill and artistic insight by Rāghavānka that many new features introduced therein made the old story appear new and charming. For instance, the introduction of the three Cāṇḍāla maidens in the Āśrama of Viśvāmitra to serve as temptresses to Hariścandra is a very effective structural device. The portion dealing with the situation in which Viśvāmitra ultimateiy wrested the kingdom from the king and sent him into the wilderness is also one of the finest in Kannaḍa poetry.

It is chiefly in respect of character study that Kannaḍa poets have exhibited their genius and made a real contribu-

tion to Indian literature. In general, it is the classical intensity, vividness and power with which the epic characters have been delineated by poets like Pampa, Ranna, Nāgacandra and Kumāravyāsa, that is amazing. The treatment of Karṇa and Duryodhana by Pampa, of Duryodhana and Bhīma by Ranna, of Rāvaṇa by Nāgacandra and of Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Draupadi by Kumarāvyāsa may be referred to as only illustrating the achievement of the Kannaḍa poets in their works. In particular, we may refer to the character of Duryodhana, who has been depicted as a true hero possessed of great fortitude and tenacity in spite of his defects and of Karṇa as a tragic personality, who is as gifted and noble as he is unfortunate. Ranna, who has delineated Duryodhana in this manner under the influence of Pampa and Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa has undoubtedly presented an aspect of his personality that is much more appealing than any other presented in the preceding works. The Rāvaṇa of Nāgacandra is quite a different person from the Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa. He is depicted as a great hero, possessing all the virtues of an ideal king who. in a weak moment, fell a prey to love on seeing Sīta and carried her to his capital by force. At a later stage, when engaged in war with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, he found Sīta adamant in her resolve to live with Rāma or die, he repented sincerely of his indescretion, though he fought till his death. This picture of Rāvaṇa is new to Kannaḍa and Sanskrit; but Nāgacandra is indebted for its original to the sources of the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa, belonging to the tradition of Vimalasūri. All the same, he has handled the character of Rāvaṇa with all the power and the insight of a great poet and made him a live personality. Kumāravyāsa is a master artist, who has filled his gallery

with an astounding variety of characters, all of them done to perfection. Barring exceptions, his greatness lies not in the transformation but in the most vivid and adequate interpretation of the characters found in the original MBh. He excels in the delineation of all types of character and recreates the entire atmosphere of the MBh with unsurpassed power. His Uttarakumāra is an excellent study of a boastful and cowardly prince, giving rise to rich humour. The characters of the Vīraśaiva mystics and devotees have been very ably presented by Harihara and by some of his successors. In particular, mention may be made of the masterly treatment of Basava as a great Bhakta by Harihara and of Allamaprabhu as a perfect Jñāni by Cāmarasa. The character of king Bharateśa, as a portrayed by Ratnākaravarṇi, is undoubtedly a master-study in the realm of Kannaḍa literature. Bharateśa is here portrayed as an ideal man and king, who synthesises Tyāga and Bhoga and Jñāna and Karma in every movement of his life.

The imagination of Kannaḍa poets is rich and lofty, though at times it moves in conventional grooves owing to the spirit of the age and of traditional training. The poetic conventions and the clever diction of Sanskrit literature have no doubt influenced Kannaḍa to a very large extent. But the influence is more to be seen in classical than in popular poetry. Even in classical poetry, the poets have very often utilised older materials for raising superstructures of their own fancy. The descriptions of nature and of many human situations that we come across in Kannaḍa are excellent pieces showing the keen observation and the genius of the poets, though instances are not wanting, of episodes and ideas tainted by blind acceptance of convention and by

a mad pursuit of wild fancy and wit. The mastery of Sanskrit and of Kannaḍa vocabulary and idiom that nearly all important Kannaḍa poets have shown in their works is one of the marvels of Kannaḍa literature.

We have, so far, dealt with the literature of the lettered class in general, i.e., of the trained poet and the conscious artist. Though we had occasion to speak of the spontaneous singers and mystics, we have yet to acquaint the reader in a few words with the marvellous character of the literature of the untutored masses of Karnāṭaka. Such literature is to be found in abundance in every country and in every language. In Kannada also, there is an abundant variety of folksongs and ballads which are as old as the hills. The authors of most of these are unknown. But we know that folk literature in Kannaḍa had tradition and it is alluded to by our poets through the centuries. The dance song of the Karnāṭaka actresses, actually reproduced in 'Śilappadikāram', is the earliest example known to us, followed by later references to 'Onakevāḍu' and other folksongs. The very fact that Tripadi is used in a Kannada inscription of c. 700 A.D.[1] is an indication of the antiquity of the folk songs, since we know that more than half of folk poetry, in the form in which it is available to us today, is composed in the Tripadi metre or its variations. It falls into several divisions according to subject matter, song pattern and style. Particular mention must be made of the Tripadis i.e. three-lined verses, which centre round domestic life, the joys and sorrows of Kannaḍa womanhood. It is no exaggeration to say that many of these Tripadis are lyrics

R. Narasimhācārya: Śāsanapadyamañjari, p. 2.

in miniature, some of them attaining the finish and the poise of great utterance. Sarvajña of the 16th or 17th century, who is also a master of Tripadi writing, is not as great as these folk poets or poetesses in respect of poetic essence, as he is often more didactic and ingenious. Some of the other varieties of folksongs are the groups relating to agricultural life and village trades and crafts, the ballads relating to legendary and historical heroes, the lullabies, and the dance songs. The singing of the folksong is generally a part of life's activity for the people sing as they work. The most familiar occasion on which women sing is while grinding corn. "Rising early in the morning to grind corn for the household, the daughter or daughter-in-law sings in a long-drawn tune, to the accompaniment of the grind-stone, verse composed by a predecessor and giving apt expression to her own heart's thoughts".[1] The sense of humour which some of them display is surprising indeed. It may at times offend good taste but there are examples of humour, which not only satisfy good taste but all the requirements of art. The song called 'Uḍāla Cenni' in which the story of a young husband, who tries to make his dear wife spin on the spinning wheel without success, is beautifully told. It is flawless in its art and delightful in its humour. In conclusion, it may be said that the heritage of Karnāṭaka is rendered varied and rich by the variety and the beauty of folksongs in Kannaḍa.

We shall now give just a few quotations in translation by way of illustrating the power and the beauty of old

[1] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 107.

Kannaḍa literature. It is very often believed that love of country is altogether a passion of the new age. The following impassioned outburst of Pampa, expressing his great love of the Banavāsi country as a part of Karnāṭaka will, however, explode that belief. The passage in question consists of four stanzas, uttered by Arjuna when he was on his travels. It is clear that Pampa has unburdened himself through Arjuna. One of these stanzas is given below in translation :—" When the breeze from the south touches me, when I hear goods words from some one, when sweet music delights my ear, when I see the jasmine flower in full bloom, when I see lovers unite as if they were one soul and whenever the spring festival is held—O ! what shall I say—my mind remembers the Banavāsi land even if I am pierced with a goad ".[1]

The following is another stanza from 'Pampabhārata' containing the fierce vow of indignant Bhīma addressed to Draupadi when she was insulted by Duśśāsana in the Court of Duryodhana :—" I shall split into two the chest of Duśśāsana and drink his red blood, yelling, I shall break the thighs of Duryodhana with my mace and reduce to fine powder his crown, shining with gems ; believe me, believe me. O ! lotus-eyed lady, sparks and live coals are issuing forth from my eyes as I see my enemies ".[2] These words ring with a terrific note in the powerful situation, set forth by the poet.

Coming to Basava, the great devotee and reformer, we may read the following utterance for its utter sincerity and humility. " My people, who loved me, praised me

[1] Pampa Bhārata, IV–30. [2] Ibid, VII–13.

over and over and raised me to a golden stake. Their praise killed me. Friends, your regard was as a sharp dagger to me. I am hurt; I cannot bear it. O lord Kūḍala Sangama, if you would be merciful, come between me and their praise, O good One".[1] The use of the phrase 'golden stake' (Honna Śūla) for the praise of friends is extremely appropriate and significant. Here again are a few words of wisdom from a woman mystic of the Vīraśaiva faith, known as Akkamahādevi, "What is the use of fearing animals having built a house on the hill? Or of fearing the wave and the foam having built a house by the sea? Or having built a house where the fair meets, what is the good of objecting to noise? Having been born in this world, one should not be moved by praise or blame but bear both with equanimity"[2] This is one of her splendid sayings, delivering to the world a message of strength and peace in the midst of despair and distraction.

We next reproduce a translation of a song of Kanakadāsa, one of the towering personalities of the Dāsakūṭa. It is full of the spirit of complete surrender to God. "This body is yours, so is the life within it; yours too are the sorrows and joys of our daily life. Whether sweet word or Veda or story or law, the power in the ear that hears them is yours; the vision in the eye that gazes lidless on beauty of young form, yea, that vision is yours. The pleasure that we feel in living together with fragrance of musk and sweet scents, that is yours; and when the tongue

[1] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 26.

[2] Ibid, p. 53.

rejoices in the taste of its food, yours is the pleasure with which it rejoices. This body of ours and the five senses which are caught in this net of illusion, all, all is yours. O source of all desire that the body bears, is man his own master? Nay all his being is yours".[1]

One or two examples may be given here from folksongs as well. A woman expresses her affectionate regard and reverence for her mother thus:—"Why do you want so many days to go to Benares? My mother's house is an hour's way; and there sits my Benares - my mother, who gave me birth".[2] Another woman expresses her deep love for her child and the joy of having children at home thus:—"Where is the need of a fan at all in a house, that has children in it? When my child, my dear one, moves in and out, the breezes of the fan do blow over me".

E. P. Rice has concluded his book on Kanarese literature with these remarks: "I am afraid it must be confessed that the Kanarese writers, highly skilful though they are in the manipulation of their language and very pleasing to listen to in the original, have as yet contributed extremely little to the stock of the world's knowledge and inspiration ......There is little original and imperishable thought on the questions of perennial interest to man. .... There are earnest calls to detachment from the world. .... Hence a lack of that which stimulates hope and inspires to great

[1] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, pp. 120–1.

[2] Ibid, p. 77.

enterprises ".[1] We have quoted this in order to show what harm ignorance or half-knowledge can do to great literature. We are fully aware of the shortcomings of Kannaḍa literature. But those, which have been pointed out in this passage, are imaginary and ill-founded. It must have been clear from the survey made in the last chapter and from the examples given that Kannaḍa literature has made a genuine contribution to the literature of India and of the world and does contain "that which stimulates hope and inspires to great enterprises ". Only, one has to understand and appreciate it with a mind free from bias. The sayings and songs of the Kannaḍa mystics do not preach mere renunciation. "Life in the world but life in thought of God is what they teach ".[2] In one of his great Vacanas, Basava says. " This world of man is the mint of the creator. Those who pass out (as true coin) here will do the same there (in God's

---

[1] E. P. Rice: A History of Kanarese Literature, p. 108. These remarks occur towards the close of the concluding chapter (pp. 105–109) on "Some characteristics of Kanarese literature", six or seven of which he has noted and criticised. They contain obvious half-truths and misstatements based on either prejudice or lack of proper understanding and need not be gone into in this context, though they will have to be thoroughly examined on a separate occasion so that the fallacies contained in them are exposed and the truth about it is set forth, without, of course, blind admiration for the language and the literature.

[2] Māsti Venkaṭeśa Ayyangār: Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p. 74.

place)".[1] Knowing such utterance as this, we can say with confidence that Kannaḍa literature has "original and imperishable thought on questions of perennial interest to man", though that thought was necessarily conditioned by its environment.

As an appendage to this chapter, it may not be inappropriate to notice briefly the contribution of Karnāṭaka to Sanskrit and Prākrit literature and to trace the influence of Kannaḍa on the language and the literature of a few sister provinces in India. Since the time of the Aryan contact, Karnāṭaka has been a home of Sanskritic studies. With the advent of Jainism and Buddhism, Prākrit stepped into the land and later on Kannaḍa itself gained prominence. But the place of Sanskrit in the system of education and in general studies and cultural activities has always been predominant. Karnāṭaka has not only produced great founders of religion and philosophy; it has also given to India great thinkers, dialecticians and expositors as well as poets of a high order in the realm of Sanskrit and Prākrit. The 'Gāthāsaptaśati' of Hālarāja and the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya were produced in the Śātavāhana period of Karnāṭaka history. Jaina scholars of the eminence of Koṇḍakundācārya, Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda enriched Sanskrit and Prākrit by their valuable scientific and philosophical works. Under the unstinted patronage of Karnāṭaka rulers, Sanskrit continued to be cultivated as a medium of secular poetry and scientific literature. The contribution to classical poetry is evident from the 'Naḷacampū' of Trivikramabhaṭṭa (10th cent.), which has already been

[1] Basaveśvarana Vacanagaḷu, p. 24, Vacana 42.

shown to be the first obtainable Campū in Sanskrit, and from 'Yaśodharacarita' of Somadeva belonging to the same age. Poetic biography came from Bilhana, the court-poet of Vikramāditya VI of the later Cālukya dynasty, under the name of 'Vikramānkacarita' (12th cent.). Commentaries on the Vedas were written, the first being that of Udgītācārya of the Kadamba period. The second is the most famous commentary of Sāyaṇa under the first rulers of Vijayanagara. Among scientific works, mention must be made of 'Mitākṣarā' of Vijñāneśvara under Vikramāditya VI and several other works produced by scholars like Sāyaṇa in the 14th century. A number of works were written on the science of music in the Vijayanagara period. Sectarian literature, philosophical and exegetical, has been vaster than anything else in the Kannaḍa country. Besides the works bearing on the three prominent systems of Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva by a large number of their disciples and scholars, in the course of several centuries, there are works by Vīraśaiva Pandits like 'Śrikarabhāṣya' of Śrīpatipaṇḍita (14th cent.). The names of Vidyāraṇya, Vyāsarāya and Vedāntadeśika in the Vijayanagara era are as venerable as those of the founders of the three systems, which they expounded so ably. Certain kings of Karnāṭaka were themselves scholars and authors in Sanskrit. As is known from the inscriptions, the Ganga prince Durvinīta wrote 'Śabdāvatāra' and a commentary on the 15th canto of 'Kirātārjunīya'. He also rendered 'Bṛhatkathā' into Sanskrit for the first time, much earlier than Somadeva or Kṣemendra. It is really unfortunate that his works have not been traced, particularly the last one. The 'Praśnottaramālā' of Nṛpatunga, the 'Mānasollāsa' of Somarāja

and the works of Kṛṣṇadevarāya deserve special mention. There were women writers like Vijayānka or Vijjhikā, who has been honoured by Rājaśekhara as Sarasvati and Karṇāṭi and praised for her Vaidarbhi style, which she had mastered next to Kālidāsa, and Gangādevi, the daughter-in-law of Bukkarāya, who wrote 'Madhurāvijaya', extolling the exploits of her own heroic husband in excellent Sanskrit. To all this must be added the great mass of inscriptional literature in Sanskrit and Prākrit, in which all the epigraphs used to be written till the 5th century. Even later the two languages occupied a respectable place by the side of Kannaḍa.

Owing to political and religious associations, Āndhra and Karnāṭaka have influenced each other considerably. In respect of literary activity, it is known that Telugu made a beginning under Kannaḍa influence. The first Telugu poet, Nanniah composed the Āndhra MBh in Campū form after the manner of Pampa and with the help of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, who was a Kannaḍa poet himself. 'Kavirājamārga' showed the way to 'Kavijanāśrayamu' of Bhīma Kavi. Several Telugu poets were patronised by kings of Karnāṭaka, chiefly of Vijayanagara. The reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who was himself an author of note in Telugu, is the golden age of Telugu literature when poets like Allasāni Peddaṇa flourished and gave of their best to their language.

Literature in Tamiḻ, Urdu and Persian has been produced in Karnāṭaka, in different forms and at different periods. A greater reciprocity in respect of language and literature has, however, taken place between Kannaḍa and Marāṭhi. It is not possible for us to dwell at length on the history of the relations between Karnāṭaka and

Mahārāṣṭra, which is by itself an interesting subject for an independent study. Historically, it will suffice to say that contact between the two provinces dates mainly from the period of the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas. It continued vigorously in the Vijayanagara age as well as under the Mysore rulers and the Peśvas. That Marāṭhi had reached the Hoysaḷa country in the 13th century is attested by a verse in the 'Anantanātha Purāṇa' of Janna (1230 A.D.) wherein Marāṭhi words and sentences occur.[1] The influence of Marāṭhi diction came to be felt through such words as 'Paisara' same as 'Paija' meaning 'Bet'[2]; but it was in the Vijayanagara period that the Kannaḍa vocabulary was largely interspersed with Marāṭhi words and phrases. The 'Kannaḍa Bhārata' of Kumāravyāsa, one of the greatest works in the language, bears undoubted stamp of the same. In the post-Vijayanagara period, the Marāṭhā

---

[1] Janna: Anantanātha Purāṇa, II-32 ದೂಠಿವುಠಿವಾಗಾ ಬೈಸಜಾ ತೂಹಳೂ ವಿನವೀ ಸಾವಿಸ ಸಾವುಘೇವುಘೇ ಹೋ ಜಾಗು ಬೊಲ್ etc. meaning "Get up, go behind and sit, you speak softly" etc. It may be that the Pratihāras in the Hoysaḷa court came from the Mahārāṣṭra country owing to closer contact between the two territories. The following stanza in a Dāvaṇagiri inscription of 1224 A.D. (E.C. XI, dg. 25) also contains words with a Marāṭhi inflexion as used in Jñāneśvari:

ಜವರಾತೂ ಜಗದೇಕವೀರು ಮರ್ಧುದೇವಾರೋಹಕೂ ಬಾಪು ಜಾ ।
ಧವ ನಾರಾಯಣಿ ನಾರಸಿಂಗು ಭಲಯೊಂದಣ್ಕಿಂಗೆ ತಾವೆಚ್ಚೆ ತೂ ।
ಗುವವೊಲ್ ವಿಕ್ರಮಪಾಳ ಪಾವುಸ ಶಿರಃಕಂಜಂಗಳಲ್ಲಾಡುತಿ ।
ರ್ದ್ದುವು ತನ್ನಾನೆಯು ಹೊನ್ನಡೆಂಚಿ(ಬಿ)ಯುದ ಚಂಚತ್ಕೇತು ದಂಡಂಗಳೊಳ್ ॥

[2] Janna: Anantanātha Purāṇa, II-31.

Empire was in the ascendent and, naturally, owing to the political and cultural domination of Mahārāṣtra, the spoken language of North Karnāṭaka, especially the dialects of the border were influenced to such an extent that a wide gulf was created between the spoken Kannaḍa of North and South Karnāṭaka. The influence of one language on another may be due to close contact, political domination or the advanced stage of growth of a particular language. In the history of the mutual influence of Kannaḍa and Marāṭhi, all these factors have been at work. In regard to the influence of Kannaḍa over Marāṭhi, the more important factor at work was the last one viz. the advanced stage in which Kannaḍa language and literature were at a time when Marāṭhi was yet young and coming into its own. It is as natural as the influence of Sanskrit over Kannaḍa in its own stage of infancy. It is recognised by scholars that a good part of what constitutes Mahārāṣtra today was formerly a region of Kannaḍa-speaking people and there is historical truth in the words of 'Kavirājamārga' which places the Kannaḍa country between the rivers Kāveri and Godāvari.[1] The Viṭṭhala Sampradāya of the Bhāgavata school must have attracted crowds of devotees, headed by such towering personalities as Jñāneśvara and Ekanātha, to Paṇḍharapura, which was then a place in Karnāṭaka, where Kannaḍa was spoken and God Viṭṭhala of which place was Kannaḍa, according to clear statements made by Jñāneśvara and Ekanātha.[2] It is, therefore, natural that some features of Kannaḍa grammar

[1] S. G. Tuḷpuḷe: Yādavakālīna Marāṭhi, pp. 319–21.

[2] Ibid, p. 323.

and several words of the Kannaḍa vocabulary crept into the very structure of Marāṭhi as it was spoken then and as it was being cultivated as a literary medium. This accounts for the appreciable influence of Kannaḍa on the Marāṭhi style of the Yādava period in particular. The influence of Kannaḍa on 'Jñāneśvari,' the greatest work in Marāṭhi literature, has already been studied thoroughly by students of the subject.[1] The influence, in general, was excrcised in respect of word-borrowing both in an original and in an altered form as well as in point of grammatical structure. Space forbids an examination of the findings of scholars on the subject, though we have certain comments to make on them. Some of the words shown as originally Kannada have not been either properly spelt or explained adequately.[2] In respect of grammatical structure, we agree that the use of u (ಉ) or vu (ವು) as the nominative termination, postpositional declension, certain idioms as in Mhaṇouni (ಮ್ಹಣೌನಿ) and echo-words etc. are in all likelihood due to the influence of Kannada. It has also been pointed out that the 'Ovi' metre, in which 'Jñāneśvari' was composed and which was also used in the Mahānubhāva literature, is derived from Tripadi, which is the oldest metre in Kannaḍa prosody. Similarly,

---

[1] Viṭṭhal Rāmji Śinde: Kānaḍi āṇi Marāṭhi, and R. V. Jāgirdar: Kanarese Influence on old Marāṭhi (ABORI, XI, pt. 4) and S. G. Tuḷpuḷe: Yādavakālīna Marāṭhi, pp. 324–343.

[2] S. G. Tuḷpuḷe: Yādavakālīna Marāṭhi, pp. 325–26.

the influence of the Akkara metre is detected on the Dhavala kind of composition in Marāṭhi.[1]

The extent and the nature of the influence of Kannaḍa have not remained the same on later Marāṭhi language and literature, but it is well worth remembering that the influence has been deep and sustained even well on into the modern period. It has not been sufficiently realised in the scholarly world that the Marāṭhi dictionary contains a very large number of words and idioms borrowed from Kannaḍa. Some of them are part and parcel of every-day speech. It is true that there will be a certain amount of uncertainty in tracing the origin of some of these words. But a scientific and dispassionate study is sure to yield surprising results. Kannaḍa has also entered into the very structure of the Marāṭhi language as it is spoken and written today.

CHAPTER XV

The history of modern Karnāṭaka begins roughly with the introduction of the new educational system and the teaching of English in the Kannaḍa country. We learn that the Department of Education in Bombay was set up in the year 1823 and schools were opened in the Kannaḍa districts of the Bombay Presidency as late as 1856. Even then, the language taught in the schools was Marāṭhi. The Government documents were also in Marāṭhi. It was in 1865 that

---

[1] D. R. Bendre: Jñāneśvarapūrvakālīna Kānaḍi Vāṇmaya (Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā, Vol. VII, pp. 72–73).

the department realised that the language of these districts was Kannaḍa. From that year onwards, efforts were made to put education in Bombay Karnāṭaka on a better footing. Alongside of it, a systematic collection of inscriptions, a sustained study and presentation of dynastic history and a keen appreciation of the art treasures of Karnāṭaka were carried on by Eliot, Fleet and Fergusson.

In Madras Karnāṭaka, however, English education was introduced earlier and missionary scholars like Rieve and and Kittel made a scientific study of the Kannaḍa language and revealed the treasures of old Kannaḍa literature to the people. The systematic researches of B. L. Rice in Mysore, leading to the publication of the volumes of 'Epigraphia Carnatika', gave a real impetus to the study of Kannaḍa literature and Karnāṭaka history. Of course, Kannaḍa was already making headway under the benevolent patronage of Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja and a new prose style was slowly coming into being. Epigraphs and works of old Kannaḍa literature came to be published from the year 1879 onwards. It must be assigned to the credit of the missionary movement in Mangalore Karnāṭaka that it was the Kannaḍa printing begun by the Basel Mission nearly a century ago that gave rise to journalism and publication of literature, old and new, in all parts of Karnāṭaka. But Karnātaka was divided up and was no longer a whole. As clear from the history of the province after the fall of Vijayanagara, Karnāṭaka came to be a medley of administrative units, being cut up into divisions of the most awkward character such as Bombay Karnāṭaka, Madras Karnāṭaka, Mysore Karnāṭaka, Nizam Karnāṭaka and several small states. Some of the smaller states got talukas and villages in the very midst of

Bombay Karnāṭaka, situated far away from their administratives centres. As a result of this dismemberment, there was very little contact between the Kannaḍa people of different parts. If any, there was a feeling of aloofness and indifference towards each other. Ignorance about the language, literature and history of Karnāṭaka reigned supreme. The new education in English gradually gave Karnāṭaka the intellectual background for the vision of a new nationalism, which had arisen in the rest of India. The national movement for Home Rule was started under the inspiration of All-India leaders, and the political consciousness of the Kannaḍa people in British Karnāṭaka began to grow. Side by side with this movement, Kannaḍigas were being made aware of their rich cultural heritage in the form of their history, literature, architecture and other fine arts. Thus after a good deal of work carried on by pioneers against severe odds in the political and cultural field, the ideals of modern Karnāṭaka took shape in the course of the last half century. They are now clearly stated to be the regeneration of India as a free nation and the unification of Karnāṭaka as a linguistic and cultural unit of the Indian nation. It is needless to describe in detail the political and cultural movements which have secured popular sympathy and support for the realisation of these ideals. It need only be pointed out that its institutions such as the Indian National Congress and its Karnāṭaka Branch, the Unification Association, the Karnāṭaka Vidyāvardhaka Sangha and the Kannaḍa Literary Academy, which have brought about a remarkable change in the life of the Kannaḍa country during the first quarter of this century. The Kannaḍigas in all these awkward divisions are developing contacts with one another and feeling

the new consciousness of a United Karnāṭaka towards which they are slowly progressing.

In the literary sphere, the new nationalism of Karnāṭaka has found expression in rich and varied forms. The literature in modern Kannaḍa has rendered signal service in the cultural unification of the province and in the cultivation of a genuine taste for Kannaḍa literature. Owing to the influence of English literature, modern Kannaḍa has books written in all the well-known forms of modern literature. The first quarter of the persent century, however, saw the dawn of modern Kannaḍa in the form of journalism and translation and adaptation. The second quarter of this century (roughly from 1920 to 1943) is marked by the rise of a new spirit in all spheres of activity in Karnāṭaka In respect of language and literature, this period stands for genuine creative self-expression. The progress of Kannaḍa in this period has been rapid, varied and remarkable indeed. A new prose, enriched by a diversity of styles has come into existence and is being fostered by journalists and men of letters. The lyric has manifested itself in all its richness and fullness. Almost all forms of literary expression known to the modern world have been introduced in Kannaḍa and are in the process of development, having reached different stages of progress.

As regards the output of poetry, modern Kannaḍa has so much to be justly proud of, in form and content. All the freedom, the abandon and the variety of romantic poetry is to be found in the Kannaḍa poetry of today. There are new themes and new metres, inspired by the West but adapted to the past traditions of India and

Karnāṭaka. In the field of lyrical self-expression, poets such as D. V. Guṇḍappa, B. M. Śrīkanṭhayya (known as Śri), Māsti (known as Śrīnivāsa), Pañje, Bendre (known as Ambikātanayadatta), Sāli, Ānandakanda, V. Sītārāmayya and Madhura Cenna are the elderly poets, followed by a band of younger poets like K.V. Puṭṭappa, P.T. Narasimhācārya, Rājaratnam, Śankarabhaṭṭa, Vināyaka and Rasikaranga. Every one of these has struck out a path for himself. A few like Śrī, Māsti, D.V. Guṇḍappa and Bendre have reached the peak of their power while others are approaching it in varied measure. Śrī has made singular contribution to modern Kannaḍa poetry by his pioneer work, entitled 'English Gītagaḻu' containing Kannaḍa renderings of English lyrics, and by his verse plays, called 'Aśwatthāman' and 'Pārasīkaru', written after the manner of Greek tragedy. Mention may be made of the individual achievement of some poets in handling particular forms and patterns: of Māsti in blank verse and rhymed narrative, of Bendre in sonnet and balladic tunes, of Vināyaka in free verse and of Rājaratnam in colloquial lyric. Rājaratnam, in particular, has written what is known as 'Ratnana padagaḻu' i. e. the Songs of Ratna, which finely express the thoughts and emotions of a rustic drunkard in his own language, having at the same time larger significance and power. They are a unique contribution to modern Kannaḍa. They are perhaps new to the rest of modern India as well in point of theme and style. Longer poems and verse plays by Māsti, Bendre, Puṭṭappa and some others have revealed the poets at their best. A collection of old ballads and other folksongs is going on apace and several books have been published already.

The short story started on its career in the writings of Kerūr, Pañje and Māsti. Māsti is, however, regarded as the father of this form in modern Kannaḍa. He is easily the master in the realm of narrative. A born story-teller, he has published six collections of his short stories so far and given proof of his great art and greater understanding of life. His long short story or novelette called 'Subbaṇṇa' stands unique in modern Kannaḍa as a character study and deserves to be placed side by side with the best in the modern Indian literatures. There are other excellent short story writers like Ānanda, Ānandakanda, Gorūr-Rāmaswāmi, Kṛṣṇakumāra, A. N. Kṛṣṇarao and Tengse, to mention only a few. Of these, Ānanda has a fine grip over the technique of the short story. Kāranta and A. N. Kṛṣṇarao have, in their own way, dealt with striking social themes and raised the banner of revolt against the old order. There is, in general, a variety and freshness in the increasing production of the short story, though an intensive delineation of all strata of society is still lacking. The short short story is attempted successfully by Rāja-ratnam in his book called 'Hanigaḻu' (drops).

The novel rose on the Kannaḍa horizon with reflected lustre, like the moon. But writers of the early twenties like Kerūr, M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇa and Gaḷaganāth did attempt original work alongside of translation and led the way to creative fiction. The social novel sprang up and became extremely popular. The singular contribution of the Manohara Granthamālā, which has published more than twenty novels in the course of the last ten years and of the other Mālās also has to be recognised in this connection. Kāranta, Puṭṭappa, Ānandakanda, A. N. Kṛṣṇa rao,

R. V. Jāgirdār and Gokāk are some of the names, known in this field. Puṭṭappa has written a full-length novel called 'Kānūru Subbamma Heggaḍiti', describing, in wonderful detail, the life of the people in Malenāḍ i. e. the mountainous tract of Karnāṭaka. Kāranta has recently come out with a big novel called Marali Maṇṇige i. e. 'Back to the soil', depicting life on the sea-coast of Mangalore for three generations. This novel, with its amazing realism and restraint, marks a definite advance in Kannaḍa fiction. Ānandakanda has specialised in the historical novel with great success. It must, however, be admitted that the novel, as a form, has yet to develop in modern Kannaḍa in respect of both quality and quantity.

The drama, which was mostly confined to professional companies in early part of this century, rose to eminence with the rise of amateurs and dramatists, gifted with a true sense of art. Original writing in the field of social drama was pioneered by Huilgol Nārāyaṇa rao and Kerūr. But the first flash of genius came from T. P. Kailāsam of Mysore, whose social play called 'Tollugaṭṭi' (meaning 'Hollow and Solid', parts I & II) is a perfect piece of art. Kailāsam is a man of exceptional genius that modern Karnāṭaka has produced. He has a large number of plays on the tip of his tongue, as it were. Some of these have been published so far. He holds the mirror to modern social life in a superb manner and insists on the use of colloquial Kannaḍa in social drama. Next comes R. V. Jāgirdār (known as Śrīranga), whose abilities as a dramatist are remarkable. He has already produced a good number of full-length and one-act plays. To him,

drama is mostly an instrument of social criticism and reform. His play called 'Harijanvāra' is a very successful attempt in this way of writing. Kāranta, Kastūri and Samsa are some of the other familiar names in this field.

In the sphere of the one-act play, Kannaḍa has more variety and profusion and perhaps much better workmanship to its credit than in that of the full-length play. M. N. Kāmat, A. N. Kṛṣṇarāo, D. R. Bendre. N. K. Kulkarṇi and Śrīranga are a few well-known playwrights, whose work is commendable in the field of the one-act play. The Kannaḍa drama has rich possibilities which are awaiting to be exploited, notwithstanding the inroads of the cinema. The work done during this quarter is a pointer to the future. Several experiments such as the opera and the shadow play are made by Kāranta and others. Āśunātaka or impromptu play production was experimented upon at a function of the Manohara Granthamālā and was a great success. The plays thus produced have now been published in book form. The idea is taking root in literary festivals.

The essay in all its types, chiefly the personal essay, has been flourishing splendidly in modern Kannaḍa. It is an entirely new vein and is best illustrated by such essayists as A. N. Mūrti Rāo, whose 'Hagaluganasugaḷu' (day-dreams) is a collection of high class personal essays. Literary criticism, biography and scientific literature have been making good progress, though the supply of books is not quite commensurate with the demand. Reference must be made to S. Kṛṣṇaśarma's concise and gripping prose in his character sketches and studies in the Gāndhi Sāhitya series of books. Gokāk's diary book of travel in 'Samudradāceyinda' is the

first work of its kind in Kannaḍa and has been very popular. Humour has been assigned its due place in all the above-mentioned forms of art and very rarely has it descended to a low level. There is a crying need for popular books of knowledge and the Mysore University has been doing splendid work by way of publishing such works in series like the 'Pracārapustakamālā', which has brought out about fifty booklets so far on several topics of general interest, written by experts in the line. Thus a very laudable attempt is being made to popularise knowledge among the reading public. The literature for children, which was at first produced by Paṇje, has now Rājaratnam, Kāranta and others as its worthy sponsors. Illustrated story books and poems are being published for young folk. Women writers are coming to the forefront. The Manohara Grantha Bhāndāra has published collections of short stories by women writers and the name of Gouramma deserves mention as an able authoress. Her premature death is a great loss to Kannaḍa.

On the whole, a great awakening of the genius of the province is indicated by the remarkable progress, achieved in the course of this quarter of the century. A great future lies ahead. It must, however, be noted that this is a period of transition, when the old order is dying and the new one is being born, so that there is still much to be desired as regards quality, poise and finish in the literary production of modern Karnāṭaka as perhaps in every other province of India.

It is not possible here to deal at length with the contribution of modern Karnāṭaka to Indian culture. It may however, be remarked that those essential traits of Kannaḍa culture, which were referred to in the section of historical

Karnāṭaka, have continued to inspire the life of the people today. Karnāṭaka is sure to make a fuller contribution to India when its political and cultural aspirations are fulfilled and when the life of the province begins to flow in full tide. Even now, the people of the province have imbibed the ideals of Indian nationhood and of the renaissance of Karnāṭaka in a spirit of synthesis, which should be regarded as a very real contribution to the rise of a free Indian nation. Kannaḍa as a language and literature is bringing together people of all castes and creeds and is showing promise of a cultural unity inspite of social and religious diversity. The literature in modern Kannaḍa has already great works of art to its credit. Some of these are being translated in other modern Indian languages and in English so that their contribution to Indian culture may be known outside Karnāṭaka.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

It will be remembered that we stated in the introduction of this book that our object in the treatment of this subject was " to describe the heritage of Karnāṭaka in relation to India with a view to discover its uniqueness as a vital part of India, its indebtedness as well as contribution to Indian culture as a whole ". We hope that this object has been at least partially fulfilled in what is, after all, an essay in that direction and not an exhaustive study. The narrative has been brief and an attempt is made to compress a good deal of matter in the course of our description and discussion of the heritage of Karnāṭaka in all its

aspects. It should be borne in mind that we had to lay greater emphasis on the best in this heritage and hence on the merits of Kannaḍa culture with a view to bring out its contribution to Indian culture. But we are quite aware of its limitations as well, which, we have, at times, indicated in the course of our treatment.

In conclusion, it may be fitting to sum up in a few words what exactly is meant by the uniqueness of this heritage. There are doubting Thomases, who ask what is Karnāṭaka or Kannaḍa culture. They seem to suggest that it is a sentimental slogan, having very little support of reason to make it acceptable to all thinking persons. There are some, who agree that there is something like Karnāṭaka culture. But they maintain that there is nothing new or typical about it. They say that Karnāṭaka culture is but another form of Vedic or Indian culture, just its image. Vedic culture is Mārga i.e., classical, whereas Karnāṭaka culture is Deśi i.e., its regional or popular form.[1] A large number of issues are involved in such doubts and views and it is not possible here to enter into anything like a detailed discussion. We take it for granted that there is general agreement on the point that culture is a real entity either in individuals or groups of individuals, that it is an ideal of good living realised in varying degrees individually and collectively. In almost every country in the world, men have striven for centuries together to get a vision of culture and live up to it and set up a tradition for posterity to copy and to improve upon. In spirit, culture is universal ; it is the best in every tradition, ethics, religion and philosophy. It, how-

[1] Devuḍu Nṛsimhaśāstri : Karṇāṭaka Samskṛti, pp.13–14.

ever, assumes individual forms when it is practised by individuals and groups, mainly because of the diversity of human nature and of outward circumstances. It may not always be distinctive in every detail. But it will be unique as a whole and typical in some of its features. The main thing about culture is that it should manifest itself in one's life, as one's life-breath, not merely in thought or speech. There is, then, present in it a certain integral uniqueness or individuality. Even supposing for a moment that there is very little of such uniqueness in culture, the presence of a live culture is its own reward and uniqueness cannot be more valuable than that. Regional culture, as in countries or provinces, is certainly an aspect of universal culture as manifest in the politico-economic, aesthetic, socio-religious and philosophical phases of life in a certain region. There is thus unity in diversity, the expression of the same spirit in different forms. One can deny neither the underlying unity nor the variety of expression. If people can understand culture in general and regional culture in particular, they can also understand Karnāṭaka culture. If Vedic or Indian culture is but an aspect of world culture, Karnāṭaka culture is also a form of Indian culture, like the cultures of the other linguistic regions of India. In the sense in which it is customary to speak of Indian culture as different from Western culture, it should be correct to speak of Karnāṭaka culture also as different from Indian culture without ceasing to be an aspect of it.

In the course of this book, we have tried to show how the heritage of Karnāṭaka has been an outcome of several forces and factors, and chiefly how it has arisen out of a blending of Dravidian and Aryan standards. Its uniqueness

lies in its compositeness or integrality, the impression that emerges as the sum total of all its features in several departments of life. Though it is the same in essence as that of any other province, especially of the regional groups in the South, it is distinct from them in its own integrality,—which is made up of such features as Kannaḍa language and literature, the arts such as its sculpture and architecture and the social, religious and philosophical traditions developed in the manner and in the forms described in the course of this book. The influence of Indian culture on it has been continuous and profound. But it is not merely an image, in miniature, of Indian culture. It is, to say the least, an individual imitation of Indian culture. For instance, the way in which Kannaḍa has drawn on Sanskrit is characteristic of Karnāṭaka culture. Generally speaking, it has neither lost itself in a blind imitation of Sanskrit nor broken away from it to a large extent It has adopted the forms of worship of Indian culture but has evolved some of its own styles of temple-building and sculpturing to house the gods that are worshipped. It has admired and accepted Indian philosophy and religion but has grafted on it some of its own creeds and customs. Apart from the uniqueness of this character in which all the features go together to build up an integrality, it must be admitted that some of the traits of Karnāṭaka culture, as suggested by the Vijayanagara Empire, the Vīraśaiva and Mādhva faiths, the Hoysaḷa style of architecture, Gommaṭa sculpture and the Vīragals and Māstikals and also certain peculiarities of Kannaḍa language and literature are distinctive features in the heritage of Karnāṭaka, features which are different from those of any other regional culture in India. There are a few other features,

indicated by the heroic tradition and by social and religious virtues like tolerance, which show difference in degree and not in kind.

We believe that it is the possession of a real and full-fledged culture that matters in the life of a nation or province and not its mere uniqueness in every respect. At the same time, a dispassionate study of the culture of Karnāṭaka does reveal to students of the subject an integral uniqueness along with certain features, peculiar to Karnāṭaka. Even supposing that some of these features are shown to be common to any other part or parts of India, we think that the contribution of Karnāṭaka, as of every other province, will remain unaffected so long as it has a genuine and comprehensive culture, whether unique or otherwise.



INDEX

Abu Zaid, 77.
Agastya, 31, 33.
Agrahāra, 150, 154, 156, 157, 158.
Aihoḷe, 158, 164.
Ajantā, 168.
Akkamahādevi, 115, 181, 202.
Akkādevi, 124.
Allamaprabhu, 115, 181.
Allasāni Peddaṇa, 207.
Aloe, 13.
Amoghavarṣa, i.e., Nṛpatunga, 52, 68, 90, 124, 173, 206.
Antahpurādhyakṣa, 96.
Anubhavamaṇṭapa, 115.
Aravīḍu, 55.
Ariake Sadinon, 14.
Arikesari, 190.
Aśanisannāha, 87.
Aśoka, 11, 12, 42, 44, 46, 68, 90, 97, 134, 161.
Ādigauṇḍa, 153.
Ālupa, 48, 63, 91.
Āṇḍayya, 182, 195.
Āndhra, 6, Āndhrabhṛtya, 47.
Ānegondi, 6.
Āyagāra, 98, 99.
Babiyamma, 76.
Badiamaioi (Badami), 13, 51, 89, 91, 164, 167, 169.
Baḍaga, 31.
Baiṭhaṇa, 13.
Baḻḻigāme, 113, 157, 158.
Bammu Sānta, 73.
Banaouasei (Banavāsi), 5, 6, 12-3, 44, 46, 92, 112, 151, 158, 160, 201.
Baṇṭa, 31, 63.
Basava, 115, 117, 135, 181-2, 198, 201, 204.
Bayalaṭa, 172.
Bābā Buḍangiri, 132.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 64.
Bāḻgaḻcu, 75.
Bāmini, 55.
Bāṇa, 48.
Bārbhujya, 70.
Beḍa, 30.
Bedaṇḍe, 173, 186, 187.
Beḻvoḻa, 133.
Belūr, 165.
Bhadrabāhu, 10, 43, 112.
Bhakti, 39, 40, 116, 134, 150, 183.
Bhaṇḍināmbi, 155.
Bharateśavaibhava, 152.
Bhāgavata, 135-7, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 147-9.
Bhāskara, 139.
Bhillama, 53, 62.
Bhūtuga, 51.
Bijjaḻa, 53, 115, 133.
Bilhaṇa, 62, 206.
Biṭṭideva, 53, Viṣṇuvardhana, 62, 114, 125, 172.
Bīroba, Bīra, 75.
Brahmagiri, 20.
Brahmapuri, 156-7.
Brahmavūru, 105.
Buddhist and Buddhism, 111-3, 118-120, 140, 155, 157, 161, 163, 176, 205.
Bukka, 54, Bukkarāya, 80, 127, 129, 134, 207.

Cakradhara, 143.
Caitanya, 143-5, 147-8.
Caitya, 161.
Candragupta, 10, 42, 68, 112.
Candranātha, 138.
Candrarāja, 179.
Candravaḷḷi, 15, 20, 47, 49.
Caṭṭanāyaka, 72.
Cattāṇa, 173, 186-7.
Cāuṇḍarāja, 149.
Cālukya, 50-53, 60-1, 89, 92, 96, 119, 122-4, 161, 163, 168, 170.
Cāmarasa, 184, 198.
Cāvuṇḍarāya, 180.
Cenna Basava, 115.
Christianity, 116, 119.
Cikadevarāja, 55, 63, 184-5.
Cikupādhyāya, 184-5.
Cinnayya, 72.
Citradurga, 15.
Cīraghaṭṭi, 169.
Coḷa, 6, 44, 53, 58, 62, 114, 133.
Cuṭus, 48.
Cūḍāmaṇi, 174, 177.
Daṇḍakāraṇya, 6, 35.
Daṇḍanāyaka, 84, 95, 96.
Dantidurga, 52, 60.
Dāsa and Dāsakūṭa, 116, 141, 183, 193, 202.
Desunāyaka, 72.
Devagiri, 53.
Devarāya II, 104.
Dharmādhikāri, 96.
Dharmamahāmātya, 97.
Dharmānkuśa, 97.
Dhruva, 52, 61.
Drāviḍa, 3.
Durvinīta, 50-1, 174, 177, 206.
Ekanātha, 209.
Elala, 13.
Ellora, 167-8.
Ereyanga, 155.
Gahadwala, 69.
Gaṇḍarāditya, 126.
Ganga, 50, 70, 76, 92, 106, 112, 118, 122, 161, 174.
Gangādevi, 207.
Garuḍas, 76.
Gaṭṭayya, 72.
Gāthāsaptaśati, 14, 175, 205.
Gāvuṇḍa, 99.
Ghanalinga, 184.
Ghaṭikā, 151, 156-7.
Girirāṣtra, 70.
Gītagovinda, 147.
Godāvarī, 5, 32, 36, 46, 52, 209.
Gokāk, 169.
Gokarṇa, 158.
Golla, 41.
Gombiguḍḍa, 168.
Gommaṭa, 138, 166.
Gopālanāyaka, 171.
Goparāṣtra, 57.
Govindaprabhu, 143.
Grāmamahattara, 103.
Grāmapaddhati, 100.
Guṇamadhura, 175.
Guṇavarma I, 188.
Gupta, 50.
Gutta, 54.
Haḍapavaḷa, 95.
Halmiḍi, 174-5.
Haḷebīḍu, 53, (Dorasamudra), 125, 165.

Hampi, 167, 169.
Harihara, 54, 127, 129, 181, 198.
Harihara Cult, 135, 149, 150.
Harṣavardhana, 51, 59, 68, 90
Hālarāja, 14, 47-8, 205.
Helliga, 73.
Herakal, 20.
Hiuen Tsiang, 51, 65, 82.
Horasādhaka, 87.
Hoysaḷa, 53-4, 58, 82, 84, 101, 119, 125, 161, 163, 165, 172, 208.
Hyder, 55.
Inde, 13.
Indra III, 190.
Iruḷa, 30.
Isila Culture, 20, 21.
Islam, 116, 119.
Iśwarapuri, 143, 146.
Iṭṭagi, 164.
Jagaddaḷa Somanātha, 194.
Janasthāna, 36.
Jaina and Jainism, 111-3, 115, 117-9, 121-24, 125, 126-9, 135-9, 140-1, 155-7, 161, 166, 169, 176-9, 180, 192-3, 205.
Janna, 182, 208.
Jayadeva, 147.
Jayadhvajatīrtha, 193.
Jātigār, 172.
Jāvā, 164.
Jīvandharacarite, 139.
Jñāneśwara, 209.
Kabīradāsa, 148.
Kadamba, 48, 50, 54, 57, 70, 83, 92, 94-5, 100, 104, 118-9, 121-2, 161.
Kakka, 53.
Kaḷbappu, 10.
Kalacūri, 89, 92, 115.
Kalirāya, 73.
Kallayanāyaka, 73.
Kalligeris, 13.
Kalnāḍu, 75.
Kalyāṇa, 52, 89, 115.
Kanakadāsa, 116, 183, 195, 202.
Kanakeri, 169.
Kandaloi, 14.
Kandācāra, 85.
Kaṇṇanir, 17.
Kannas, 18, 19 (Kāleyas)
Kariturāgavergḍe, 96.
Karnāṭaka, Ancient, 3-21, Origin of the term Kannaḍa or Karnāṭaka, 22-24, Historical Karnāṭaka, 43 onwards, Heroism, 56-81, Army Organisation, 82-88, Administration, 88-109, Religious Culture, 110-134, Social Life, 150-160, Arts, 160-173, Karnāṭaka Saṅgīta, 170-1, Kannaḍa Literature, Old, 173-205, Modern, 214-220.
Karunāṭar, 15, 22, 23.
Kavikarṇapūra, 145.
Kathāsaritsāgara, 64.
Kavirājamārga, 22, 36, 52, 173-5, 177-8, 186, 188, 207, 209.
Kāḍukuruba, 30, 31, (Kuruba), 41.
Kākutsavarma, 49.
Kāḷāmukha, 115.
Kārkaḷa, 112, 166.

Kātyāyana, 9.
Kāveri, 6, 32, 36, 50, 52, 56, 209.
Kerala, 3, 6, 113.
Keśirāja, 182.
Ketamalla, 72.
Kilgunthe, 76.
Kīrtivarma, 60, 123.
Kiṣkindha, 6.
Koṇdakundācārya, 205.
Koppaṇa(la), 43, 112, 158.
Koṭa, 31.
Koṭegalaga, 87.
Kṛṣṇaveṇi, 5, 33, 46, 53.
Kṛṣṇa I & III, 52, 61, 167.
Kṛṣṇadevarāya, 54, 63, 68, 87, 207.
Kukanūr, 164.
Kumāravyāsa, 150, 183, 197, 208.
Kuntala, 42.
Kuruvatti, 164.
Kuvara Lakṣma, 77.
Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍeśa, 184.
Lakkuṇḍi, 164.
Lakṣmīśa, 150, 183.
Lankā, 13.
Larika, 14.
Lāṭa, 53.
Lekhaka, 96.
Lepākṣi, 169.
Lingāyat, 115, 143.
Madhwa, 50, 58, 115, 117-8, 135, 140, 143-6, 206,
Mahābhārata, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 57, 151, 183, 190, 196, 198, 207.
Mahājana, 101, 102.
Mahāmātra, 95.
Mahānubhāva, 142.
Mahāpasāyita, 95.
Mahārāṣṭra, 12, 16, 51, 57, 65, 142-3, 149, 208-9.
Mahāsabhā, 104.
Mahāvamśa, 12.
Mahā Āryaka, 95.
Mahiṣaka, 4, 6, 16.
Mahiṣamaṇḍala, 12, 44, 46 (Mysore), 208.
Mahiṣmat, 9.
Mailangi, 158.
Malippala (Malpe), 14.
Mallarāṣṭra, 57.
Manevergaḍe, 94, 96.
Mangarasa III, 184.
Maṭacī, 18.
Maṭha, 154, 156-7.
Mayūraśarma, 48, 58.
Mālva, 53.
Mānyakheṭa, 112.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 16.
Mārasimha, 51.
Māski, 20, 43.
Māstigallu, 74.
Mātanga, 30.
Melkoṭe, 115.
Mīrābai, 148.
Modogoulla, 13.
Mohenjo Daro, 16, 17, 39.
Moṭagauṇḍa, 153.
Mṛcchakaṭika, 16, 64.
Muddaṇa, 185.
Mūḍabidre, 105; 167.
Naḍegoṇṭe, 87.
Naḷa, 48.
Nañjuṇḍa, 192.
Nannaih, 207.
Naras, 19.

Nārasimha III, 77.
Narmadā, 46, 59.
Naṭasevya, 172.
Nayasena, 180.
Nāḍavar, 31, 36-7, 45, 57-8, 63, 94.
Nāgacandra, 139, 179, 180, 197.
Nāgadeva, 143.
Nāgagauṇḍi, 153.
Nāgārjuna, 177.
Nāgavarma, 179, 180, 192.
Nāgavarmācārya, 179.
Nānyadeva, 69.
Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, 207.
Nemicandra, 182, 192.
Nepāl, 69.
Nettarakoḍagi, 75.
Nigamasabhā, 106-7.
Nijaguṇaśivayogi, 184, 191.
Niśidigallu, 74.
Nṛpatunga—cf., Amoghavarṣa
Nuniz, 97.
Oḍeyar, 55.
Okkaliga, 31, Okkal, 36.
Oḷasādhaka, 87.
Oxyrhynchus, 14.
Paḍegoṇṭe, 87.
Paḍiyara, 95.
Pallava, 48-9, 50-1, 58.
Pampa, 151, 179, 183, 190, 191, 193, 196-7, 201, 207.
Pancavaṭi, 32.
Pancāyat, 98.
Paṇḍita, 97.
Parahita, 77.
Pasage, 13.
Paṭṭadakal, 164, 172.
Paṭṭaṇasāvi, 104-5, 107-8.
Pāḍadāna, 100.
Pāṇḍya, 6, 44.
Pāṇini, 9.
Pāśupata, 115.
Patañjali, 9, 10.
Peśwa, 55-6, 208.
Petirgala, 13.
Piṭinika, 11, 44, 45.
Ponna, 169, 179.
Pratiṣṭhāna, 11, 45-6.
Prouḍhadevarāya, 54.
Pṛthvīśeṭṭi, 109.
Ptolemy, 10.
P(t)olemaios (Siso), 14, (Pulimey), 47-8.
Pulikeśi II, 51, 59, 65, 90, 168.
Puṇḍra, 5.
Punnāṭa, 10, 11, Pounnaṭa, 10, 13.
Purandaradāsa, 116, 171, 183.
Purohita, 97.
Pūjyapāda, 205.
Rahasyādhikṛta, 95.
Rajjuka, 96.
Rakkasatangaḍagi, 55.
Ranna, 151, 179, 180, 182-3, 191, 196-7.
Rathika, 11, 45.
Ratnākaravarṇi, 151, 184, 198
Raṭṭa, 45, 54, 133.
Rācamalla, 50, 76.
Rācayya, 76.
Rāghavāṅka, 182, 193, 196.
Rāghavendraswāmi, 116.
Rājaśekhara, 64.
Rājiga, 62.
Rāmānanda, 148.
Rāmānuja, 114-7, 125, 135, 137, 140, 143, 148, 206.

Rāmarāya, 54, 132.
Rāmāyaṇa, 5-8, 31, 33, 35.
Rāmavat, 148.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 6, 52, 57-8, 60-1, 77, 89, 92-3, 96-7, 103, 106-7, 119, 123, 126, 167, 173, 190.
Rāṣṭramahattara, 103.
Rāṭhod, 70.
Rāyasūtradhāri, 95-6.
Ṛṣṭika, 6, 44, 45.
Rudrabhaṭṭa, 150, 169, 182.
Śabara, 30.
Ṣaḍakṣari, 185.
Sahagamana (Sati), 77-9.
Śailendra, 70.
Sajjevaḷa, 95.
Saḷa, 58.
Saloṭagi, 158.
Samantabhadra, 205.
Śambhu, 77.
Sandhivigrahi, 95.
Śankara, 113-5, 117, 140, 145, 206.
Śaraṇa, 141, 193.
Sarvajña, 185, 200.
Sarvādhikāri, 14, 95 6.
Satiyaputo, 11.
Sālva, 184.
Śāntaladevi, 172.
Śāntāra, 54.
Śāntivarma, 50, 79.
Śātakarṇi, 48.
Śātavāhana, 11, 14-5, 46-8, 89, 106, 118-9, 120, 155, 161, 205.
Sāyaṇa, 206.
Sena, 69, 147.
Śenādhipati, 84.
Sendraka, 48.
Senubova, 99.
Siddharāma, 115.
Śilappadikāram, 172, 199.
Śilāhāra, 54, 126.
Singeyanāyaka, 77.
Sinhaṇa, 53, 62.
Sirimalaga, 13.
Śivāji, 55, 67.
Śivakoṭyācārya, 177.
Śivamāra, 51.
Śivane, 75.
Somadeva, 190, 206.
Somanāthapura, 165.
Someśwara I, 53, 206.
Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa, 10, 43, 86, 112, 158, 166, 169.
Śreṇi, 106.
Śrīdharācārya, 194.
Śrīkaraṇa, 96.
Śrīpatipaṇḍita, 206.
Śrīpuruśa, 50.
Śrīvijaya, 188.
Śṛngeri, 113-4.
Suvarṇagiri, 43.
Tagara, 13.
Taila II, 52.
Takkolam, 62.
Taḷakāḍu, 50, 158.
Taḷavāra, 99.
Tantrapāla, 94.
Tālagunda, 157.
Tāmraparṇi, 6.
Tīkācāya, 116.
Tipu, 55.
Tirumalārya, 184-5.
Toḍa, 31.
Toṇṭada Siddheśwara, 184.
Trivikramabhaṭṭa, 190, 205.
Tumbalūrācārya, 174.
Tungabhadrā, 33, 46, 54.

Tuḷunāḍu, 63.
Tyāgaraya, 171.
Uḍapi, 116.
Udgītācārya, 206.
Udayāvara, 105.
Vaḍḍārādhane, 177, 180.
Vaḍḍavyavahāri, 108.
Vaijayanta, 6.
Vanavāsika, 4, 6.
Vākāṭaka, 50.
Vedāntadeśika, 207.
Viddhaśalabhañjikā, 61.
Vidyāraṇya, 54, 113, 206.
Vihāra, 155. 161.
Vijayanagara, 46, 54-5, 58, 67-8, 76, 79, 80, 82-5, 87, 89, 90, 93, 97, 104-5, 108-9, 116, 119, 127, 131-3, 151, 158, 161, 167, 169, 171-2, 182, 193, 206-8.
Vijayānkā, 207.
Vijñāneśwara, 206.
Vikramāditya VI, 53, 62, 68, 90.
Vimalasūri, 197.
Vimalodaya, 177.
Vindhya, 31.
Viraballāḷa II, 53, 62, 77, 106, 153, 171.
Vīrabaṇajiga, 107, 108.
Vīragallu, 74.
Vīraśaiva, 115, 117, 119, 135, 140, 142, 148, 151, 181, 184, 192, 198.
Vīrūpākṣapaṇḍita, 184.
Viṣayamahattara, 103.
Vyāsarāya, 116, 146-7, 183, 206.
Vyūha, 86.
Yakṣagāna, 172, 185.
Yamanūr, 132.
Yādava, 53, 54, 82, 208, 210.
Yeṇūr, 166.

NOTE:—For want of space, the index has not been made exhaustive and refers only to pages 1 to 211 (to the end of Chapter XIV)

Sanskrit passages appearing on pages 129, 130, 137, 145 & 147.

यं शैवास्समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो।
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः॥
अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः।
सोऽयं वो विदधातु वांछितफलं श्रीकेशवेशस्सदा॥

Page 129

ज्योतिः शान्तमनन्तमद्वयमजं तत्तद्गुणोन्मीलनाद्।
ब्रह्मेत्यच्युत इत्युमापतिरिति प्रस्तूयतेऽनेकधा॥
तैस्तैरेव सदागमैः श्रुतिमुखैर्नानापथप्रस्थितै-।
र्गम्योऽसौ जगदीश्वरो जलनिधिर्वारां प्रवाहैरिव॥

Page 130

जयत्यतिशयजिनैर्भासुरः सुरवन्दितः श्रीमान्
जिनपतिः सृष्टेरादेः कर्त्तादयोदयः।

Page 137

जयन्ति यस्यावदतोऽपि भारतीविभूतयस्तीर्थकृतोऽपि नोहिते
शिवाय धाम्ने सुगताय विष्णवे जिनाय तस्मै सकलात्मने नमः।

Page 137

अथात्मनः श्रीमध्वानयदीक्षितभगवत्कृष्णचैतन्यमतस्थ(त)स्वमाह
आनन्देति।

Page 145

व्यासतीर्थस्तस्य शिष्यो यश्चक्रे विष्णुसंहितां।

Page 147

Printed by D. V. Rama Rao at the Karnataka Publishing House
Press, Bangalore City—501—1946